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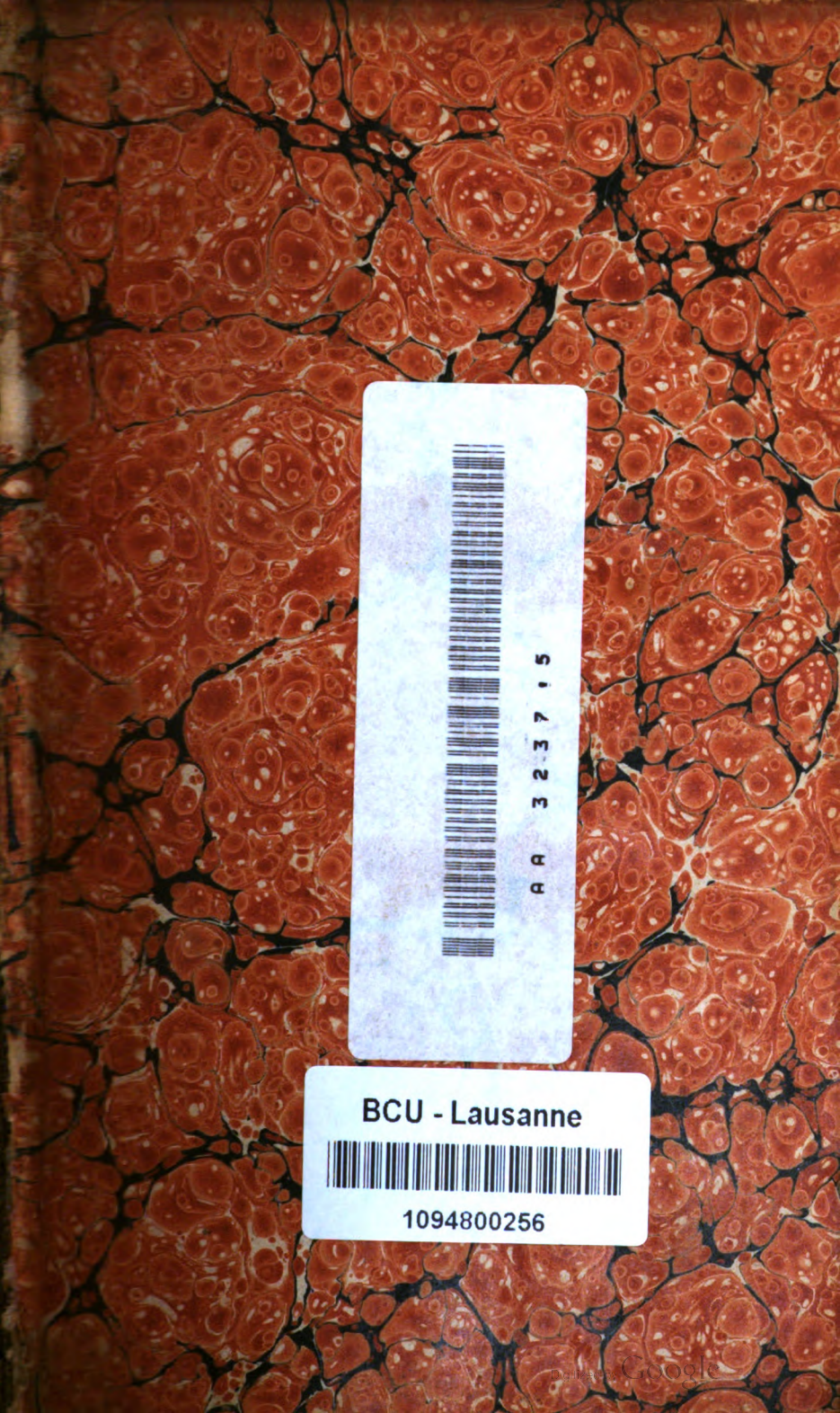
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THE

MISCELLANEOUS

WORKS

OF

EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

WITH

MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS,

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, LORD SHEFFIELD.

A NEW EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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MÉMOIRE JUSTIFICATIF

POUR SERVIR DE

*Réponse à l'Exposé des Motifs de la Conduite du Roi de France relativement à l'Angleterre.**

L'AMBITION d'une puissance, toujours ennemie du repos public, a obligé enfin le roi de la Grande Bretagne à employer dans une guerre juste et légitime ces forces que Dieu et son peuple lui ont confiées.—C'est en vain que la France essaye de justifier ou plutôt de déguiser sa politique aux yeux de l'Europe par son dernier manifeste, que l'orgueil et l'artifice semblent avoir dicté, mais qui ne peut se concilier avec la vérité des faits et les droits des nations. L'équité, la modération, l'amour de la paix, qui ont toujours réglé les démarches du roi, l'engagent maintenant à soumettre sa conduite et celle de ses ennemis au jugement du tribunal libre et respectable, qui prononce sans crainte et sans flatterie l'arrêt de l'Europe, du siècle présent et de la posterité. Ce tribunal, composé des hommes éclairés et désintéressés de toutes les nations, ne

* Mentioned in the Memoirs, as written at the request of the lord Chancellor Thurlow and of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary of State, in 1778.

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s'arrête jamais aux professions, et c'est par les actions des princes qu'il doit juger des motifs de leurs procédés et des sentimens de leurs cœurs.

Lorsque le roi monta sur le trône, il jouissoit du succès de ses armes dans les quatre parties du monde. Sa modération rétablit la tranquillité publique, dans le même instant qu'il soutenoit avec fermeté la gloire de sa couronne, et qu'il procuroit à ses sujets les avantages les plus solides. L'expérience lui avoit fait connoître combien les fruits de la victoire même sont tristes et amers; combien les guerres heureuses ou malheureuses épuisent les peuples sans agrandir les princes. Ses actions prouvoient à l'univers, qu'il sentoit tout le prix de la paix, et il étoit au moins à présumer que la raison qui l'avoit éclairé sur les malheurs inévitables de la guerre, et la dangereuse vanité des conquêtes, lui inspireroit la résolution sincère et inébranlable de maintenir la tranquillité publique, dont il étoit lui-même l'auteur et le garant. Ces principes ont servi de base à la conduite invariable de sa majesté pendant les quinze années qui ont suivi la paix conclue à Paris en 1763: époque heureuse de repos et de félicité, dont la mémoire sera long tems conservée par le souvenir et peut-être par les regrets des nations de l'Europe.—Les instructions du roi à tous ses ministres portoient l'empreinte de son caractère et de ses maximes. Il leur recommandoit, comme le plus important de leurs devoirs, d'écouter avec une attention scrupuleuse les plaintes et les représentations des puissances, ses alliés ou ses voisins, de prévenir, dans leur origine, tous les sujets de querelle

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relle qui pourroient aigrir ou aliéner les esprits, de détourner le fléau de la guerre par tous les expédiens compatibles avec la dignité du souverain d'une nation respectable, et d'inspirer à tous les peuples une juste confiance dans le système politique d'une cour qui détestoit la guerre sans la craindre, qui n'employoit pour ses moyens que la raison et la bonne foi, et qui n'avoit pour objet que la tranquillité générale. Au milieu de cette tranquillité les premières étincelles de la discorde s'allumèrent en Amérique. Les intrigues d'un petit nombre de chefs audacieux et criminels, qui abusèrent de la simplicité crédule de leurs compatriotes, séduisirent insensiblement la plus grande partie des colonies Angloises à lever l'étendart de la révolte contre la mère-patrie, à qui elles étoient redevables de leur existence et de leur bonheur. La cour de Versailles oublia sans peine la foi des traités, les devoirs des alliés, et les droits des souverains, pour essayer de profiter des circonstances qui paroissoient favorables à ses desseins ambitieux. Elle ne rougit point d'avilir sa dignité par les liaisons secrettes qu'elle forma avec des sujets rebelles, et après avoir épuisé toutes les ressources honteuses de la perfidie et de la dissimulation, elle osa avouer à la face de l'Europe, indignée de sa conduite, le traité solemnel que les ministres du roi très Chrétien avoient signé avec les agens ténébreux des colonies Angloises, qui ne fondoient leur indépendance prétendue que sur la hardiesse de leur révolte. La déclaration offensante que le Marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Lon-

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dres, le 13 Mars de l'année dernière, autorisa sa majesté à repousser par les armes l'insulte inouie qu'on venoit d'offrir à l'honneur de sa couronne; et le roi n'oublia pas dans cette occasion importante ce qu'il devoit à ses sujets et à lui-même. Le même esprit de fausseté et d'ambition régnoit toujours dans les conseils de la France. L'Espagne, qui s'est repentie plus d'une fois d'avoir négligé ses vrais intérêts pour servir aveuglément les projets destructeurs de la branche aînée de la maison de Bourbon, fut engagée à changer le rôle de médiateur pour celui d'ennemi de la Grande Bretagne. Les calamités de la guerre se sont multipliées; mais la cour de Versailles ne doit pas jusqu'à présent se vanter du succès de ses opérations militaires; et l'Europe sait apprécier ces victoires navales, qui n'existent que dans les Gazettes et dans les manifestes des vainqueurs prétendus.

Puisque la guerre et la paix imposent aux nations des devoirs entièrement différens et même opposés, il est indispensable de distinguer ces deux états dans le raisonnement aussi bien que dans la conduite; mais dans le dernier manifeste que la France vient de publier ces deux états sont perpétuellement confondus. Elle prétend justifier sa conduite en faisant valoir tour-à-tour et presqu'au même instant, ces droits qu'il n'est permis qu'à un ennemi de reclamer, et ces maximes qui règlent les obligations et les procédés de l'amitié nationale. L'addresse de la cour de Versailles à brouiller sans cesse deux suppositions qui n'ont rien de commun, est la conséquence naturelle d'une politique fausse et

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et insidieuse, incapable de soutenir la lumière du grand jour. Les sentimens et les démarches du roi, qui n'ont point à redouter l'examen le plus sévère, l'invitent au contraire à distinguer clairement ce que ses ennemis ont confondu avec tant d'artifice. Il n'appartient qu'à la justice de parler sans crainte le langage de la raison et de la vérité.

La pleine justification de sa majesté et la condamnation indélébile de la France, se réduit donc à la preuve de deux propositions simples et presqu'évidentes; premièrement, Qu'une paix profonde, permanente, et de la part de l'Angleterre sincère et véritable, subsistoit entre les deux nations, lorsque la France forma des liaisons d'abord secrettes, et ensuite publiques et avouées, avec les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique: secondement, Que suivant les maximes les mieux reconnues du droit des gens, et selon la teneur même des traités actuellement subsistans entre les deux couronnes, ces liaisons pouvoient être regardées comme une infraction de la paix, et que l'aveu public de ces liaisons équivaloit à une déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien. C'est peut-être la première fois qu'une nation respectable ait eu besoin de prouver deux vérités aussi incontestables, et la justice de la cause du roi est déjà reconnue par tous les hommes qui jugent sans intérêt et sans prévention.

" Lorsque la Providence appella le roi au trône la France jouissoit de la paix la plus profonde." Telles sont les expressions du dernier manifeste de la cour de Versailles, qui reconnoît sans peine les assurances solemnelles d'une amitié sincère et des

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dispositions les plus pacifiques qu'elle reçut dans cette occasion de la part de sa majesté Britannique, et qui furent souvent renouvellées par l'entremise des ambassadeurs aux deux cours, pendant quatre ans, jusqu'au moment fatal et décisif de la déclaration du marquis de Noailles. Il s'agit donc de prouver que dans ces tems heureux de la tranquillité générale, l'Angleterre cachoit une guerre secrette sous les apparences de la paix, et que ses procédés injustes et arbitraires étoient portés au point de légitimer du côté de la France les démarches les plus fortes, et qui ne seroient permises qu'à un ennemi déclaré. Pour remplir cet objet il faudroit porter devant le tribunal de l'Europe des griefs clairement articulés et solidement établis. Ce grand tribunal exigeroit des preuves formelles et peut-être réitérées de l'injure et de la plainte, le refus d'une satisfaction convenable, et la protestation de la partie souffrante qu'elle se tenoit hautement offensée par ce refus, et qu'elle se regardoit désormais comme affranchie des devoirs de l'amitié et du lien des traités. Les nations qui respectent la sainteté des sermens et les avantages de la paix, sont les moins promptes à saisir les occasions qui semblent les dispenser d'une obligation sacrée et solemnelle, et ce n'est qu'en tremblant qu'elles osent renoncer à l'amitié des puissances dont elles ont long tems essuyé l'injustice et les insultes.

Mais la cour de Versailles a ignoré ou a méprisé ces principes sages et salutaires, et au lieu de poser les fondemens d'une guerre juste et légitime, elle se contente de semer dans tous les pages de son

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son manifeste des plaintes vagues et générales, exprimées dans un style de métaphore et d'exagération. Elle remonte plus de soixante ans pour accuser le peu de soin de l'Angleterre à ratifier quelques réglemens de commerce, quelques articles du traité d'Utrecht. Elle se permet de reprocher aux ministres du roi d'employer le langage de la hauteur et de l'ambition, sans s'abaisser jusqu'au devoir de prouver des imputations aussi peu vraisemblables qu'elles sont odieuses. Les suppositions gratuites de la mauvaise foi et de l'ambition de la cour de Londres sont confusément entassées, comme si l'on craignoit de s'y arrêter. L'on insinue d'une manière très obscure les insultes prétendues qu'ont essuyées le commerce, le pavillon et même le territoire François, " et on laisse échapper enfin l'aveu des engagemens que le roi très Chrétien avoit déjà formés avec l'Espagne, pour venger leurs griefs respectifs et pour mettre un terme à l'empire tyrannique que l'Angleterre a usurpé et prétend conserver sur toutes les mers."

Il est difficile de combattre des fantômes, ou de répondre d'une manière nette et précise au langage de la déclamation. La juste confiance du roi desireroit sans doute de se livrer à l'examen le plus approfondi de ces plaintes vagues, de ces griefs prétendus, sur lesquels la cour de Versailles a si prudemment évité de s'expliquer avec la clarté et le détail qui pourroient seuls appuyer ses raisons et faire excuser ses procédés. Pendant une paix de quinze ans les intérêts de deux nations puissantes et peut-être jalouses, qui se touchent par tant

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d'endroits différens dans l'ancien et dans le nouveau monde, fournissent inévitablement des sujets de plainte et de discussion, que la modération réciproque sauroit toujours assoupir, mais qui ne sont que trop facilement aigris et empoisonnés par la haine réelle et les soupçons affectés d'un ennemi secret et ambitieux : et les malheurs de l'Amérique étoient très propres à multiplier les espérances, les prétextes et les prétensions injustes de la France. Cependant telle a été la conduite toujours uniforme et toujours pacifique du roi et de ses ministres, qu'elle a souvent réduit ses ennemis au silence, et s'il est permis d'appercevoir le vrai sens de ces accusations vagues et équivoques, dont l'obscurité étudiée décèle les traits de la honte et de l'artifice, s'il est permis de démêler des objets qui n'ont point d'existence, on peut assurer avec la hardiesse de la vérité qu'il est plusieurs de ces griefs prétendus qui sont annoncés pour la première fois dans une déclaration de guerre, sans avoir jamais été proposés à la cour de Londres dans le tems qu'elle auroit pu les écouter avec l'attention sérieuse et favorable de l'amitié. A l'égard des plaintes que l'ambassadeur de sa majesté très Chrétienne communiquoit de tems en tems aux ministres du roi, il seroit aisé de donner ou plutôt de renouveller les réponses satisfaisantes qui prouvèrent aux yeux de la France elle-même la modération du roi, son amour de la justice, et la sincérité de ses dispositions à conserver la tranquillité générale de l'Europe. Ces représentations, dont la cour de Versailles pourroit se dispenser de rappeller le souvenir, étoient rarement

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ment marquées au coin de la raison et de la vérité, et il se trouvoit le plus souvent que les personnes en Europe, en Amérique, ou sur les mers, desquelles elle tenoit son intelligence suspecte et malfondée, n'avoient pas craint d'abuser de sa confiance, pour mieux servir ses intentions secrettes. Si les faits que la France faisoit valoir comme le sujet de ses plaintes étoient appuyés quelquefois sur une base moins fragile, les ministres du roi les éclaircissoient sur le champ par la justification la plus nette et la plus entière des motifs et des droits de leur souverain, qui pouvoit sans blesser le repos public punir la contrebande qui se faisoit sur ses côtes, et à qui les loix des nations accordoient le droit légitime d'arrêter tous les vaisseaux qui portoient des armes et des munitions de guerre à ses ennemis ou à ses sujets rebelles. Les tribunaux étoient toujours ouverts aux particuliers de toutes les nations, et il faut bien peu connoître la constitution Britannique pour supposer que la puissance royale eût été capable de les exclure des moyens d'appel. Dans le théâtre vaste et éloigné des opérations d'une guerre navale, la vigilance la plus active, l'autorité la plus ferme sont incapables de découvrir ou de réprimer tous les désordres ; mais toutes les fois que la cour de Versailles a pu établir des torts réels que ses sujets avoient éprouvés sans la connoissance ou l'approbation du roi, sa majesté a donné les ordres les plus prompts et les plus efficaces pour arrêter les abus qui blessoient sa dignité, autant que les intérêts de ses voisins, qui avoient été enveloppés dans les malheurs de la guerre.

L'objet

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L'objet et l'importance de cette guerre suffiroient pour démontrer à l'Europe les principes qui ont dû régler les démarches politiques de l'Angleterre. Dans le tems qu'elle employoit ses forces pour ramener à leur devoir les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique, est-il vraisemblable qu'elle eût choisi ce moment pour irriter par l'injustice ou l'insolence de ses procédés les puissances les plus respectables de l'Europe?—L'équité a toujours prescrit les sentimens et la conduite du roi, mais dans cette occasion importante sa prudence même est le garant de sa sincérité et de sa modération.

Mais pour établir clairement le système pacifique qui subsistoit entre les deux nations, il ne faudroit qu'en appeller au témoignage même de la cour de Versailles. A l'époque où elle ne rougit pas de placer toutes ces infractions prétendues de la tranquillité publique, qui auroient engagé " un prince moins avare du sang de ses sujets, à user sans hésiter de représailles, et à repousser l'insulte par la force de ses armes," les ministres du roi très Chrétien parloient le langage de la confiance et de l'amitié. Au lieu d'annoncer les desseins de la vengeance avec ce ton de hauteur qui épargne du moins à l'injustice les reproches de perfidie et de dissimulation, la cour de Versailles cachoit la conduite la plus insidieuse sous les professions les plus séduisantes; mais ces professions mêmes servent aujourd'hui à démentir ses déclarations, et à rappeller les sentimens qui auroient dû faire la règle de sa conduite.—Si la cour de Versailles ne veut pas s'accuser de la dissimulation la moins digne de

sa

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sa grandeur, elle sera forcée de convenir que jusqu'au moment qu'elle dicta au marquis de Noailles la déclaration qui a été reçue comme le signal de la guerre, elle ne connoissoit pas des sujets de plainte assez réels ou assez importans pour l'autoriser à violer les obligations de la paix, et la foi des traités qu'elle avoit jurés à la face de Dieu et de l'univers, et à se dispenser de l'amitié nationale dont elle avoit réitéré jusqu'au dernier instant les assurances les plus vives et les plus solemnelles.

Lorsqu'un adversaire est incapable de justifier sa violence dans l'opinion publique, ou même à ses propres yeux, par les injures qu'il prétend avoir essuyées, il a recours au danger chimérique auquel sa patience auroit pu l'exposer; et à la place des faits solides dont il est dépourvu, il essaye de substituer un vain tableau qui n'existe que dans son imagination, ou peut-être dans son cœur.—Les ministres du roi très Chrétien, qui paroissent avoir senti la foiblesse des moyens qu'ils ont été réduits à employer, font encore des efforts impuissans pour ajouter à ces moyens l'appui des soupçons les plus odieux, et les plus étranges, " La cour de Londres faisoit dans ses ports des préparatifs et des armemens qui ne pouvoient avoir l'Amérique pour objet: leur but étoit par conséquent trop déterminé pour que le roi pût s'y méprendre, et dès lors il devint un devoir rigoureux de faire des dispositions capables de prévenir les mauvais desseins de son ennemi, &c. Dans cet état des choses le roi sentit qu'il n'y avoit pas un moment à perdre."

Tel

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Tel est le langage de la France: nous allons faire entendre celui de la vérité.

Pendant les disputes qui s'allumoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la cour de Versailles s'étoit appliquée avec l'ardeur la plus vive et la plus opiniâtre à l'augmentation de sa marine. Le roi ne prétend pas régner en tyran sur toutes les mers, mais il sait que les forces maritimes ont fait dans tous les siècles la sûreté et la gloire de ses états; et qu'elles ont souvent contribué à protéger la liberté de l'Europe contre la puissance ambitieuse qui a si longtems travaillé à l'asservir.

Le sentiment de sa dignité et la juste connoissance de ses devoirs et de ses intérêts engageoient sa majesté à veiller d'un œil attentif sur les démarches de la France, dont la politique dangereuse, sans motif et sans ennemi, précipitoit dans tous ses ports la construction et l'armement des vaisseaux, et qui détournoit une partie considérable de ses revenus, pour subvenir aux frais de ces préparatifs militaires, dont il étoit impossible d'annoncer la nécessité ou l'objet.—Dans cette conjoncture le roi n'a pu se dispenser de suivre les conseils de sa prudence, et l'exemple de ses voisins; l'augmentation successive de leur marine a servi de règle à la sienne; et sans blesser les égards qu'elle devoit aux puissances amies, sa majesté a publiquement déclaré à son parlement assemblé, qu'il convenoit dans la situation actuelle des affaires, que la défense de l'Angleterre se trouvât dans un état respectable. Les forces navales qu'elle fortifioit

avec

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avec tant de soin n'étoient destinées qu'à maintenir la tranquillité générale de l'Europe, et pendant que le témoignage de sa conscience disposoit le roi à ajouter foi aux professions de la cour de Versailles, il se préparoit à ne point craindre les desseins perfides de son ambition.—Elle ose maintenant supposer qu'au lieu de se borner aux droits d'une défense légitime, le roi s'étoit livré à l'espérance des conquêtes, et que la "Reconciliation de la Grande Bretagne avec ses colonies annonçoit de sa part un projet formé de les rallier à sa couronne pour les armer contre la France." Puisque la cour de Versailles ne peut excuser ses démarches qu'à la faveur d'une supposition destituée de vérité et de vraisemblance, le roi est en droit de la sommer à la face de l'Europe, de montrer la preuve d'une assertion aussi odieuse qu'elle est hasardeuse, et de développer ces opérations publiques, ou ces intrigues secrettes qui puissent autoriser les soupçons de la France, que la Grande Bretagne après un combat long et pénible n'a offert la paix à ses sujets que dans le dessein d'entreprendre une guerre nouvelle contre une puissance respectable avec laquelle elle conservoit tous les dehors de l'amitié.

Après avoir fidèlement exposé les motifs frivoles et les griefs prétendus de la France, on rappelle, avec une assurance justifiée par la raison et par les faits, cette première proposition si simple et si importante, qu'un état de paix subsistoit entre les deux nations, et que la France étoit liée par toutes les obligations de l'amitié et des traités envers le

roi,

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roi, qui n'avoit jamais manqué à ses engagemens légitimes.

Le premier article du traité, signé à Paris le 10 Février 1763, entre leurs majestés Britannique, très Chrétienne, Catholique, et très-Fidèle, confirme de la manière la plus précise et la plus solemnelle les obligations que le droit naturel impose à toutes les nations, qui se reconnoissent mutuellement pour amies, mais ces obligations sont détaillées et stipulées dans ce traité par des expressions aussi vives qu'elles sont justes.—Après avoir renfermé dans une formule générale tous les états et tous les sujets des hautes parties contractantes, elles annoncent leur résolution non-seulement à ne jamais permettre des hostilités quelconques par terre ou par mer, mais encore à se procurer réciproquement dans toute occasion tout ce qui pourroit contribuer à leur gloire, intérêts, ou avantages mutuels, sans donner aucun secours ou protection directement ou indirectement à ceux qui voudroient porter quelque préjudice à l'une ou à l'autre des hautes parties contractantes.—Tel fut l'engagement sacré que la France contracta avec la Grande Bretagne, et on ne sauroit se dissimuler qu'une semblable promesse doit s'appliquer avec plus de force encore et d'énergie aux rebelles domestiques qu'aux ennemis étrangers des deux couronnes.—La révolte des Américains a mis à l'épreuve la fidélité de la cour de Versailles, et malgré les exemples fréquens que l'Europe a déjà vus de son peu de respect pour la foi des traités, sa conduite dans ces circonstances a étonné et indigné toutes les

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les nations, qui ne sont pas aveuglément dévouées aux intérêts et même aux caprices de son ambition. Si la France s'étoit proposée de remplir ses devoirs, il lui étoit impossible de les méconnoître; l'esprit aussi bien que la lettre du traité de Paris lui imposoit l'obligation de fermer ses ports aux vaisseaux des Américains, d'interdire à ses sujets tout commerce avec ce peuple rebelle, et de ne point accorder son secours ni sa protection aux ennemis domestiques d'une couronne à laquelle elle avoit juré une amitié sincère et inviolable. Mais l'expérience avoit trop bien éclairé le roi sur le système politique de ses anciens adversaires pour lui faire espérer qu'ils se conformeroient exactement aux principes justes et raisonnables qui assurent la tranquillité générale.

Aussitôt que les colonies révoltées eurent consommé leurs attentats criminels, par la déclaration ouverte de leur indépendance prétendue, elles songèrent à former des liaisons secrettes avec les puissances les moins favorables aux intérêts de la mère-patrie, et à tirer de l'Europe les secours militaires, sans lesquels il leur auroit été impossible de soutenir la guerre qu'elles avoient entreprise. Leurs agens essayèrent de pénétrer et de se fixer dans les différens états de l'Europe; mais ce ne fut qu'en France qu'ils trouvèrent un asyle, des espérances et des secours. Il ne convient pas à la dignité du roi de vouloir rechercher l'époque ou la nature de la correspondence qu'ils eurent l'addresse de lier avec les ministres de la cour de Versailles, et dont on vit bientôt les effets publics dans la liberté générale, ou plutôt dans la licence effrénée d'un

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d'un commerce illégitime. On sait assez que la vigilance des loix ne peut pas toujours prévenir la contrebande habile, qui se reproduit sous mille formes différentes, et à qui l'avidité du gain fait braver tous les dangers, et éluder toutes les précautions; mais la conduite des négocians François, qui faisoient passer en Amérique non-seulement les marchandises utiles ou nécessaires, mais encore le salpêtre, la poudre à canon, les munitions de guerre, les armes, l'artillerie, annonçoit hautement qu'ils étoient assurés non-seulement de l'impunité, mais de la protection même et de la faveur des ministres de la cour de Versailles.

On ne tentoit point une entreprise aussi vaine et aussi difficile que celle de cacher aux yeux de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Europe entière les démarches d'une compagnie de commerce, qui s'étoit associée pour fournir aux Américains tout ce qui pouvoit nourrir et entretenir le feu de la révolte. Le public instruit nommoit le chef de l'entreprise dont la maison étoit établie à Paris: ses correspondans à Dunkerque, à Nantes, à Bordeaux étoient également connus. Les magasins immenses qu'ils formoient et qu'ils renouvelloient tous les jours, furent chargés successivement sur les vaisseaux qu'ils construisoient ou qu'ils achetoient, et dont on essayoit à peine de dissimuler l'objet et la destination. Ces vaisseaux prenoient ordinairement de fausses lettres de mer pour les îles Françoises de l'Amérique, mais les marchandises dont leurs cargaisons étoient composées suffisoient avant le moment de leur départ pour laisser entrevoir la fraude et l'artifice: ces soupçons étoient

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étoient bientôt confirmés par la direction du cours de ces vaisseaux; et au bout de quelques semaines l'on apprenoit sans surprise qu'ils étoient tombés entre les mains des officiers du roi qui croisoient dans les mers de l'Amérique, et qui les arrêtoient à la vue même des côtes des colonies révoltées. Cette vigilance n'étoit que trop bien justifiée par la conduite de ceux qui eurent la fortune ou l'adresse de s'y dérober; puisqu'ils n'abordèrent en Amérique que pour livrer aux rebelles les armes et les munitions de guerre dont ils étoient chargés pour leur service.—Les indices de ces faits, qui ne pouvoient être considérés que comme une infraction manifeste de la foi des traités, se multiplioient toujours, et la diligence de l'ambassadeur du roi à communiquer à la cour de Versailles ses plaintes et ses preuves, ne lui laissoit pas même la ressource honteuse et humiliante de paroître ignorer ce qui se passoit et se répétoit continuellement au cœur de ses états. Il indiquoit les noms, le nombre et la qualité des vaisseaux, que les agens du commerce de l'Amérique faisoient équiper dans les ports de la France, pour porter aux rebelles des armes, des munitions de guerre, et même des officiers François qu'on avoit engagés dans les services des colonies révoltées. Les dates, les lieux, les personnes, étoient toujours désignées avec une précision qui offroit aux ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne les plus grandes facilités pour s'assurer de la vérité de ces rapports, et pour arrêter, pendant qu'il en étoit tems, le progrès de ces armemens illicites. Parmi une foule d'exemples qui accusent le peu d'attention de la cour de Versailles à remplir

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les conditions de la paix, ou plutôt son attention constante et soutenue à nourrir la discorde et la guerre, il est impossible de tout dire, et il est très difficile de choisir les objets les plus frappans. Les neuf gros vaisseaux équipés et frétés par le Sieur de Beaumarchais et ses associés, au mois de Janvier de l'an 1777, ne sont point confondus avec le vaisseau l'Amphitrite, qui porta vers le même tems une grande quantité de munitions de guerre, et trente officiers François, qui passèrent impunément au service des rebelles. Chaque mois et presque tous les jours fournissoient de nouveaux sujets de plainte; et une courte notice du mémoire que le Vicomte de Stormont, ambassadeur du roi, communiqua au Comte de Vergennes au mois de Novembre de la même année, donnera une idée juste, mais très imparfaite, de l'espèce de torts que la Grande Bretagne avoit si souvent essuyés. " Il y a à Rochfort un vaisseau de soixante pièces de canon, et à l'Orient un vaisseau des Indes percé pour soixante canons. Ces deux vaisseaux sont destinés pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils seront chargés de différentes marchandises, et frétés par Messieurs Chaumont, Holken, et Sabatier. Le vaisseau l'Heureux est parti de Marseilles, sous un autre nom, le vingt-six de Septembre. Il va en droiture à la Nouvelle Hampshire, quoiqu'il prétend aller aux Iles. On y a permis l'embarquement de trois mille fusils, et de deux mille cinq cens livres de souffre, marchandise aussi nécessaire aux Américains qu'elle est inutile dans les Iles. Ce vaisseau est commandé par M. Lundi, officier François, officier de distinction, ci-devant lieutenant de M. de

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Bougainville.—L'Hippopotame, appartenant au Sieur Beaumarchais, doit avoir à son bord quatorze mille fusils, et beaucoup de munitions de guerre, pour l'usage des rebelles.—Il y a environ cinquante vaisseaux François, qui se préparent à partir pour l'Amérique Septentrionale, chargés de munitions de guerre et de différentes marchandises pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils partiront de Nantes, de l'Orient, de St. Malo, du Havre, de Bordeaux, de Bayonne, et de différens autres ports. Voici les noms de quelques uns des principaux intéressés: M. Chaumont, M. Mention, et ses associés, &c. &c."

Dans un royaume où la volonté du prince ne trouve point d'obstacle, des secours si considérables, si publics, si long tems soutenus, si nécessaires enfin à l'entretien de la guerre en Amérique, annonçoient assez clairement les intentions secrettes des ministres du roi très Chrétien. Mais ils portèrent bien plus loin l'oubli et le mépris des engagemens les plus solemnels, et ce ne fut point sans leur permission qu'une guerre sourde et dangereuse sortoit des ports de la France, sous le masque trompeur de la paix, et le pavillon prétendu des colonies Américaines. L'accueil favorable que leurs agens trouvèrent auprès des ministres de la cour de Versailles, les encouragea bientôt à former et à exécuter le projet audacieux d'établir une place d'armes dans le pays qui leur avoit servi d'asyle. Ils avoient apporté, ou ils sçurent fabriquer, des lettres de marque au nom du Congrès Américain, qui a eu la hardiesse d'usurper tous les droits de la souveraineté. Les associés, dont les vûes intéressées se prêtoient sans peine à tous leurs desseins, firent

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équiper des vaisseaux qu'ils avoient construits ou achetés. On les arma pour aller en course dans les mers de l'Europe, et même sur les côtes de la Grande Bretagne. Pour sauver les apparences, les capitaines de ces corsaires arboroient le pavillon prétendu de l'Amérique; mais leurs équipages étoient toujours composés d'un grand nombre de François, qu'on enrôloit avec impunité sous les yeux même des gouverneurs, et des officiers des provinces maritimes. Un essaim nombreux de ces corsaires, animé par l'esprit de rapine, sortoit des ports de la France, et après avoir couru les mers Britanniques, ils rentroient, ou ils se réfugioient dans ces mêmes ports. Ils y ramenoient leurs prises, et à la faveur de l'artifice grossier et foible, qu'on daignoit quelquefois employer, la vente de ces prises se faisoit assez publiquement, et assez commodément sous les yeux des officiers royaux, toujours disposés à protéger le commerce de ces négocians qui violoient les loix, pour se conformer aux intentions du ministère François. Les corsaires s'enrichissoient des dépouilles des sujets du roi, et après avoir profité d'une liberté entière de réparer leurs pertes, de pourvoir à leurs besoins, et de se procurer toutes les munitions de guerre, la poudre, les canons, les agrêts qui pouvoient servir à de nouvelles entreprises, ils resortoient librement des mêmes ports, pour se remettre en mer et en course. L'histoire du corsaire le *Reprisal* peut se citer parmi une foule d'exemples, qui montrent au jour la conduite injuste mais à peine artificieuse de la cour de Versailles. Ce vaisseau, qui avoit amené en

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en Europe le Sieur Franklin, agent des colonies révoltées, fut reçu avec ses deux prises qu'il avoit faites en route; il resta dans le port de Nantes aussi long tems qu'il convenoit à ses vues, se remit deux fois en mer pour piller les sujets du roi, et se retira tranquillement à l'Orient avec de nouvelles prises qu'il venoit de faire. Malgré les représentations les plus fortes de l'ambassadeur du roi et les assurances les plus solemnelles des ministres François, on permit au capitaine de ce corsaire de demeurer à l'Orient tout le tems dont il avoit besoin pour radouber son vaisseau, de se pourvoir de cinquante barriques de poudre à canon, et de recevoir sur son bord tous les matelots François qui vouloient bien s'engager avec lui. Muni de ces renforts, le *Reprisal* sortit pour la troisième fois des ports de ses nouveaux alliés, et forma bientôt une petite escadre de pirates, par la jonction concertée du *Lexington* et du *Dolphin*, deux armateurs, dont le premier avoit déjà conduit plus d'une prise à la rivière de Bordeaux, et dont le second, armé à Nantes, et monté par un équipage entièrement François, n'avoit rien d'Américain que le nom et son commandant.—Ces trois vaisseaux, qui jouissoient si publiquement de la protection de la cour de Versailles, s'emparèrent en très peu de tems de quinze navires Anglois, dont la plûpart furent ramenés et secrettement vendus dans les ports de France.—De pareils faits, qu'il seroit aisé de multiplier, tiennent lieu de raisonnemens et de reproches, et l'on peut se dispenser de réclamer dans cette occasion la foi des traités; et il n'est point nécessaire de démontrer

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qu'une puissance alliée, ou même neutre, ne peut jamais permettre la guerre sans violer la paix.—Les principes du droit des gens refuseroient sans doute à l'ambassadeur de la couronne la plus respectable ce privilège d'armer des corsaires, que la cour de Versailles accordoit sourdement aux agens des rebelles dans le sein de la France. Dans ses îles la tranquillité publique fut violée d'une manière encore plus audacieuse, et malgré le changement du gouverneur, les ports de la Martiniqúe servoient toujours d'asyle aux corsaires qui couroient les mers sous un pavillon Américain, mais avec un équipage François. Le Sieur Bingham, agent des rebelles, qui jouissoit de la faveur et de la confiance des deux gouverneurs successifs de la Martinique, dirigeoit l'armement des corsaires, et la vente publique de leurs prises. Deux vaisseaux marchands, le *Lancashire Hero*, et l'*Irish Gimblet*, qui devinrent la proie du *Revenge*, assurent que sur cent vingt-cinq hommes d'équipage il n'y avoit que deux Américains, et que le propriétaire, qui l'étoit en même tems de onze autres corsaires, se reconnoissoit pour habitant de la Martinique, où il étoit respecté comme le favori et l'agent secret du gouverneur lui-même.

Au milieu de tous ces actes d'hostilité, qu'il est impossible de qualifier d'un autre nom, la cour de Versailles continuoit toujours de parler le langage de la paix et de l'amitié, et ses ministres épuisèrent toutes les ressources de l'artifice et de la dissimulation pour assoupir les justes plaintes de la Grande Bretagne, pour tromper ses soupçons et pour

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pour arrêter les effets de son ressentiment. Depuis la première époque des troubles de l'Amérique jusqu'au moment de la déclaration de guerre par le marquis de Noailles, les ministres du roi très Chrétien ne cessoient de renouveller les protestations les plus fortes et les plus expresses de leurs dispositions pacifiques; et si la conduite ordinaire de la cour de Versailles étoit propre à inspirer une juste défiance, le cœur de sa majesté lui fournissoit des motifs puissans pour croire que la France avoit enfin adopté un système de modération et de paix, qui perpétueroit le bonheur solide et réciproque des deux nations. Les ministres de la cour de Versailles tachèrent d'excuser l'arrivée et le séjour des agens des rebelles, par l'assurance la plus forte qu'ils ne trouveroient en France qu'un simple asyle sans distinction et sans encouragement.

La liberté du commerce et l'avidité du gain servirent quelquefois de prétexte pour couvrir les entreprises illégitimes des sujets François, et dans le moment qu'on alléguoit vainement l'impuissance des loix, pour prévenir des abus que des états voisins savoient si bien réprimer, on condamna, avec toutes les apparences de la sincérité, le transport des armes et des munitions de guerre, qui se permettoit impunément, pour le service des rebelles. Aux premières représentations de l'ambassadeur du roi, au sujet des corsaires qui s'armoient sous le pavillon de l'Amérique, mais dans les ports de France, les ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne répondirent par des expressions de surprise et d'indignation, et par la déclaration positive, qu'on

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ne souffriroit jamais des entreprises aussi contraires à la foi des traités et à la tranquillité publique. La suite des événemens, dont on a déjà vu un petit nombre, montra bientôt l'inconstance ou plutôt la fausseté de la cour de Versailles; et l'ambassadeur du roi fut chargé de mettre devant les yeux des ministres François les conséquences sérieuses mais inévitables de leur politique. Il remplit sa commission avec tous les égards qui sont dûs à une puissance respectable, dont on desireroit de conserver l'amitié, mais avec la fermeté digne d'un souverain, et d'une nation, peu accoutumés à faire ou à supporter des injustices. La cour de Versailles fut sommée de s'expliquer, sans délai et sans détour, sur sa conduite et sur ses intentions, et le roi lui proposa l'alternative de la paix ou de la guerre.—Elle choisit la paix, mais ce ne fut que pour blesser ses ennemis d'une manière sûre et secrette, sans avoir rien à craindre de leur justice. Elle condamna sévèrement ces secours et ces armemens, que les principes du droit public ne lui permettoient pas de justifier. Elle déclara à l'ambassadeur du roi, qu'elle étoit résolue à faire sortir sur le champ les corsaires Américains de tous les ports de France, pour n'y jamais rentrer, et qu'on prendroit désormais les précautions les plus rigoureuses pour arrêter la vente des prises qu'ils auroient faites sur les sujets de la Grande Bretagne. Les ordres qui furent donnés pour cet effet étonnèrent les partisans des rebelles, et semblèrent arrêter le progrès du mal: mais les sujets de plainte renaissoient tous les jours, et la manière

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manière dont ces ordres furent d'abord éludés, violés ensuite, et enfin tout-à-fait oubliés par les négocians, les corsaires, et même par les officiers royaux, n'étoit point excusée par les protestations d'amitié dont la cour de Versailles accompagna ces infractions de la paix, jusqu'à ce moment qu'elle annonça, par son ambassadeur à Londres, le traité d'alliance qu'elle venoit de signer avec les agens des colonies révoltées de l'Amérique.

Si un ennemi étranger, reconnu parmi les puissances de l'Europe, avoit fait la conquête des états du roi dans l'Amérique, et que la France eût confirmé, par un traité solemnel, un acte de violence qui dépouilloit, au milieu d'une paix profonde, le voisin respectable dont elle se disoit l'amie et l'alliée, l'Europe entière se seroit soulevée contre l'injustice d'un procédé qui violoit sans pudeur tout ce qu'il y a de plus saint parmi les hommes. La première découverte, la possession non interrompue de deux cens ans et le consentement de toutes les nations, auroient suffi pour constater les droits de la Grande Bretagne aux terres de l'Amérique Septentrionale, et sa souveraineté sur le peuple qui y avoit formé des établissemens avec la permission et sous le gouvernement des prédécesseurs du roi. Si ce peuple même a osé secouer le joug de l'autorité ou plutôt des loix, s'il a usurpé les provinces et les prérogatives de son souverain, et s'il a recherché l'alliance des étrangers pour appuyer son indépendance prétendue ; ces étrangers ne peuvent accepter son alliance, ratifier ses usurpations, et reconnoître son indépendance, sans supposer

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supposer que la révolte a des droits plus étendus que ceux de la guerre, et sans accorder aux sujets rebelles un titre légitime aux conquêtes qu'ils n'avoient pu faire qu'au mépris de la justice et des loix. Les ennemis secrets de la paix, de la Grande Bretagne et peut-être de la France même, eurent cependant l'addresse criminelle de persuader à sa majesté très Chrétienne qu'elle pouvoit, sans violer la foi des traités, déclarer publiquement qu'elle recevoit au nombre de ses alliés les sujets révoltés d'un roi, son voisin et son allié. Les professions d'amitié, dont on accompagna cette déclaration que le marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Londres, ne servoient qu'à aggraver l'injure par l'insulte, et il étoit réservé pour la France de se vanter de ses dispositions pacifiques dans l'instant même que son ambition lui inspira d'exécuter et d'avouer un acte de perfidie sans exemple dans l'histoire des nations. " Cependant, (tel est le langage que la cour de Versailles ose encore se permettre,) Cependant ce seroit s'abuser de croire que c'est la reconnoissance que le roi a fait de l'indépendance des treize états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale qui a irrité le roi d'Angleterre: ce prince n'ignore pas sans doute tous les exemples de ce genre que fournissent les annales Britanniques et même son propre règne."— Jamais ces exemples prétendus n'ont existé.—Jamais le roi n'a reconnu l'indépendance d'un peuple qui avoit secoué le joug de son prince légitime; et il est triste, sans doute, que les ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne aient surpris la religion de leur

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leur souverain pour couvrir d'un nom aussi respectable des assertions sans fondement et sans vraisemblance, qui sont démenties par le souvenir de l'Europe entière.

Au commencement des disputes qui s'élevoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la cour de Versailles déclara qu'elle ne prétendoit point être juge de la querelle; et son ignorance des principes de la constitution Britannique, aussi bien que des privilèges et des obligations des colonies, auroit dû l'engager à persister toujours dans une déclaration aussi sage et modeste. Elle se seroit épargné la honte de transcrire les manifestes du Congrès Américain, et de prononcer aujourd'hui, " Que les procédés de la cour de Londres forcèrent ses anciennes colonies de recourir à la voie des armes pour maintenir leurs droits, leurs privilèges et leur liberté." Ces vains prétextes ont déjà été réfutés de la manière la plus convaincante, et les droits de la Grande Bretagne sur ce peuple révolté, ses bienfaits et sa longue patience, ont été déjà prouvés par la raison et par les faits. Il suffit ici de remarquer, que la France ne peut se prévaloir de l'injustice qu'elle reproche à la cour de Londres sans introduire dans la jurisprudence de l'Europe des maximes aussi nouvelles qu'elles seroient fausses et dangereuses; sans supposer que les disputes qui s'élèvent au sein d'un état indépendant et souverain sont soumises à la juridiction d'un prince étranger, et que ce prince peut évoquer à son tribunal ses alliés et leurs sujets révoltés, pour justifier

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fier la conduite du peuple qui s'est affranchi des devoirs de l'obéïssance légitime. Les ministres du roi très Chrétienne s'appercevront peut-être un jour que l'ambition les a fait oublier les intérêts et les droits de tous les souverains. L'approbation que la cour de Versailles vient de donner à la révolte des colonies Angloises ne lui permettroit pas de blâmer le soulèvement de ses propres sujets dans le nouveau monde ou de ceux de l'Espagne, qui auroient des motifs bien plus puissans pour suivre le même exemple, s'ils n'en étoient point détournés par la vue des calamités dans lesquelles ces malheureuses colonies se sont précipitées.

Mais la France elle-même paroît sentir la foiblesse, le danger et l'indécence de ces prétensions, et se relâchant dans la déclaration du marquis de Noailles, aussi bien que dans le dernier manifeste, sur le droit de l'indépendance, elle se contente de soutenir que ces colonies révoltées jouissoient dans le fait de cette indépendance qu'elles s'étoient donnée; que l'Angleterre même l'avoit en quelque sorte reconnue elle-même en laissant subsister des actes qui tiennent à la souveraineté, et qu'ainsi la France, sans violer la paix, pouvoit conclure un traité d'amitié et de commerce avec les états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale.—Voici de quelle manière la Grande Bretagne avoit reconnu cette indépendance également imaginaire dans le droit et dans le fait. Deux ans ne s'étoient pas encore passés depuis le jour que les rebelles avoient déclaré leur résolution criminelle de secouer le joug

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de la mère-patrie, et ce terme avoit été rempli par les événemens d'une guerre sanglante et opiniâtre. Les succès avoient été balancés, mais l'armée du roi, qui occupoit les plus importantes des villes maritimes, continuoit toujours de menacer les provinces intérieures; le pavillon Anglois régnoit sur toutes les mers de l'Amérique; et le rétablissement de sa dépendance légitime étoit posé comme la condition indispensable de la paix que la Grande Bretagne offroit à des sujets révoltés, dont elle respectoit les droits, les intérêts, et même les préjugés. La cour de Versailles qui annonce avec tant " de franchise et de simplicité" le traité signé avec ces prétendus états de l'Amérique, qu'elle trouvoit dans une situation indépendante, avoit seule contribué par ses secours clandestins à nourrir le feu de la révolte, et ce fut la crainte de la paix qui engagea la France à se servir du bruit de cette alliance comme du moyen le plus efficace pour enflammer les esprits des peuples qui commençoient déjà à ouvrir les yeux sur les suites malheureuses de la révolte, la tyrannie de leurs nouveaux chefs, et les dispositions paternelles de leur souverain légitime.

Dans ces circonstances il est impossible de nier sans insulter trop grossièrement à la raison et à la vérité, que la déclaration du marquis de Noailles du 13 Mars de l'année dernière ne dût être reçue comme une véritable déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien; et les assurances " qu'il avoit pris des mesures éventuelles avec les états unis de l'Amérique, pour soutenir la liberté d'un commerce," qui avoit tant de fois excité les plaintes légitimes

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légitimes de la Grande Bretagne, autorisoient le roi à considérer dès ce moment la France au nombre de ses ennemis. La cour de Versailles ne peut pas s'empêcher de reconnoître que le roi d'Angleterre après avoir rappellé " son ambassadeur, dénonça à son parlement la démarche de sa majesté comme un acte d'hostilité, comme une aggression formelle et préméditée." Telle fut, il est vrai, la déclaration que l'honneur et la justice exigèrent du roi, et qu'il communiqua sans délai à tous ses ministres dans les différentes cours de l'Europe, pour justifier d'avance les effets d'un ressentiment légitime. Dès lors il est assez inutile de rechercher les ordres qui furent envoyés aux Indes Orientales, de marquer le jour précis auquel les flottes d'Angleterre ou de France sortirent de leurs ports respectifs, ou d'examiner les circonstances du combat avec la *Belle Poule*, et de la prise des deux frégates qui furent effectivement enlevées à la vue même des côtes de la France. Dès lors le reproche qu'on se permet de faire au roi d'avoir si long tems suspendu la déclaration formelle de la guerre, s'évanouit de lui-même. Ces déclarations ne sont que des moyens dont les nations sont réciproquement convenues pour éviter la trahison et la surprise; mais les cérémonies qui annoncent ce changement terrible de la paix à la guerre, les hérauts, les proclamations, les manifestes, ne sont jamais nécessaires, et ne sont pas toujours les mêmes. La déclaration du marquis de Noailles fut le signal de l'infraction publique de la paix: le roi proclama sur le champ à toutes les nations qu'il acceptoit la guerre que la France

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France lui offroit; les démarches ultérieures de sa majesté étoient du ressort de sa prudence plutôt que de sa justice, et l'Europe peut juger maintenant si la cour de Londres manquoit de moyens pour justifier une déclaration de guerre, et si elle n'osoit pas accuser publiquement la France d'être l'aggresseur."

Puisque l'alliance de la France avec les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique avoit été une infraction manifeste de la paix et le motif légitime de la guerre, la cour de Versailles devoit naturellement s'attendre qu'à la première proposition d'un accommodement entre les deux couronnes, le Roi exigeroit de sa part qu'on lui accordât une juste satisfaction sur un objet aussi important, et que la France renonçât à ces liaisons qui avoient forcé sa majesté à prendre les armes. La surprise affectée que les ministres du roi très Chrétien font paroître aujourd'hui de la fermeté de la cour de Londres est assez conforme à l'orgueil qui leur dicta des conditions de paix que les plus grands succès auroient à peine justifiées; et la proposition qu'ils hasardèrent pour engager le roi à retirer ses troupes de l'Amérique, et à reconnoître l'indépendance de ses sujets révoltés, ne pouvoit qu'exciter l'étonnement et l'indignation de sa majesté. Le peu d'ouverture que la cour de Versailles trouva à une espérance aussi vaine, l'obligea bientôt à se replier d'une autre manière; elle a proposé, par l'entremise de la cour de Madrid, un projet d'accommodement moins offensant peut-être dans la forme, mais aussi peu admissible par le fonds. Le roi Catholique, avec

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avec le consentement de la France, communiqua aux ministres du roi la proposition d'une trève à longues années, ou bien d'une suspension générale et indéfinie de toutes hostilités, pendant laquelle les colonies révoltées, les prétendus états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, seroient traités comme indépendans de fait. La réflexion la plus simple suffit pour découvrir l'artifice de ce projet insidieux, et pour justifier aux yeux de l'Europe le refus du roi. Entre les souverains qui se reconnoissent mais qui se combattent, les trèves à longues années, les suspensions d'hostilités sont les moyens doux et salutaires pour applanir les difficultés qui s'opposent à l'entière conclusion d'une paix qu'on renvoye sans disgrace et sans danger à un moment plus favorable. Mais dans la querelle domestique de la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la souveraineté même, l'indépendance de droit ou de fait, est l'objet de la dispute; et la dignité du roi ne lui permettoit point d'accepter ses propositions qui accordoient dès l'entrée de la négociation tout ce qui pouvoit contenter l'ambition des Américains rebelles, pendant qu'elles exigèrent de sa majesté que sans aucune stipulation en sa faveur, elle se désistât pendant un terme long ou indéfini des prétentions les plus légitimes. La cour de Versailles daignoit, il est vrai, consentir que celle de Londres traitât avec le Congrès soit directement, soit par l'entremise du roi d'Espagne. Sa majesté assurément ne s'abaissera point jusqu'à se plaindre de cet orgueil, qui semble lui accorder comme une grace la permission de traiter directement avec ses sujets rebelles.

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rebelles. Mais si les Américains eux-mêmes ne sont pas aveuglés par la passion et la prévention, ils verront clairement dans le procédé de la France que leurs nouveaux alliés deviendroient bientôt leurs tyrans; et que cette indépendance prétendue, achetée par tant de malheurs et tant de sang, seroit soumise à la volonté despotique d'une cour étrangère.

Si la France pouvoit vérifier cet empressement qu'elle attribue à la cour de Londres à rechercher la médiation de l'Espagne, un pareil empressement serviroit à prouver la juste confiance du roi dans la bonté de sa cause, et son estime pour une nation généreuse qui a toujours méprisé la fraude et la perfidie. Mais la cour de Londres est forcée à convenir que la médiation lui fut offerte par les ministres du roi Catholique, et qu'elle n'a d'autre mérite que celui d'avoir fait paroître dans toutes les occasions une inclination vive et sincère de délivrer ses sujets et mêmes ses ennemis du fléau de la guerre. La conduite de la cour de Madrid pendant cette négociation fit bientôt connoître au roi qu'un médiateur qui oublioit ses intérêts les plus chers pour se livrer à l'ambition et au ressentiment d'une puissance étrangère, seroit incapable de proposer un accommodement sûr ou honorable. L'expérience confirma ses soupçons: le projet injuste et inadmissible qu'on vient d'exposer fut le seul fruit de la médiation. Et à l'instant même que les ministres du roi Catholique offroient, avec les professions les plus désintéressées, sa capitale, ses bons offices, sa garantie pour faciliter la conclusion du traité, ils laissèrent

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rent entrevoir dans le fond de l'obscurité, de nouveaux sujets de discussion qui regardoient particulièrement l'Espagne, mais sur lesquels ils refusèrent toujours de s'expliquer. Le refus de sa majesté d'accéder à l'*ultimatum* de la cour de Madrid fut accompagné de tous les ménagemens et de tous les égards convenables; et à moins que cette cour ne s'arrogeât le droit de dicter les conditions de paix à un voisin indépendant et respectable, il ne se passa rien dans cette conjoncture qui dût altérer l'harmonie des deux couronnes. Mais les démarches offensives de l'Espagne, qu'elle n'a jamais pu revêtir des plus foibles apparences de l'équité, montrèrent bientôt que sa résolution étoit déjà prise, et que cette résolution lui avoit été inspirée par le ministère François, qui n'avoit retardé la déclaration de la cour de Madrid que dans l'espérance de porter sous le masque de l'amitié un coup mortel à l'honneur et aux intérêts de la Grande Bretagne.

Tels sont les ennemis injustes et ambitieux qui ont méprisé la foi des traités pour violer la tranquillité publique, et contre lesquels le roi défend maintenant les droits de sa couronne et de son peuple. L'événement est encore dans la main du Tout-puissant; mais sa majesté, qui se confie avec une assurance ferme mais humble dans la protection Divine, se persuade que les vœux de l'Europe appuyeront la justice de sa cause, et applaudiront au succès de ses armes, qui n'ont point d'autre objet que de rétablir le repos des nations sur une base solide et inébranlable.

A DIS-

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Lausanne, 1764.

A DISSERTATION ON THE ALLEGORICAL BEINGS FOUND ON THE REVERSES OF MEDALS.

In consequence of reading Addison's treatise, the following remarks have occurred to me on the allegorical beings which we find on the reverses of medals. How limited is the human mind! its boldest inventions are mere copies.

1. All those beings are represented under the human figure. Our eyes, accustomed to behold the exercise of reason, only under this shape, required such a sacrifice. Yet, by our inability of separating from the idea of the human figure the circumstances which commonly accompany it, our fancy requires, also, that the sex should be determined. The circumstance of sex, however, implies gross images, which ill correspond with the purity of the virtues, or the spirituality of metaphysical beings. After having made those two sacrifices to the mind and the eyes, a third was still required by the ear. The distinction of sex was not marked by characteristic attributes appropriated to the male and female. This method might have furnished some tolerable allegories. But the genders of their names were injudiciously chosen as the only foundation of distinction, since in all languages those genders have been determined by the caprice and ignorance of the first persons who spoke them. In Greek and Latin, most of those

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names are feminine. The beings whom they express are therefore, for the most part, represented by female figures. I say for the most part, for they are sometimes unfortunately masculine: and at other times we have two synonymous words of different genders; and the same being assumes the male or female form, according to the word employed as its name. I shall mention only the example of *Gloria* and *Honos*. In consequence of so faulty an arrangement, the character of the being is often at variance with that of its sex. True virtue is consistent; and we cannot conceive the truth, justice, or humanity of a woman exercised at the expense of chastity and decency. Yet when the attributes of an allegorical being require that it should be represented naked, we see Valour, Justice, and Hope exhibited, in a manner in which a modest woman would blush to appear. It is useless to tell me, these are not women, but female figures. My understanding perceives the difference; but the imitative arts must speak to the fancy.

2. Whatever symbols we invent, human qualities alone can be represented under human figures. Piety is only a pious woman; and Courage, a courageous one, &c. Much is done when the soul is purged of all passions but one, which occupies it entirely, and shews itself manifestly in air, action, demeanour, and even dress. This abstraction has been realized, though rarely; it may be conceived by the fancy, and may therefore be represented. But those symbols are always most srik-

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ing which quit the region of chimeras, and give us ideas that are precise and conformable to the nature of things. One of the most interesting is that of Piety under the form of a Roman vestal. The senate carried this principle too far, when it represented the virtues under the portraits of its princes. Of human qualities, those that are fixed and permanent are marked with more force than those that are uncertain and transient. The latter are expressed alone by the air and attitude; in the representation of the former, one may add to these characteristics, the features, figure, and dress. The symbols of Virtue or Chastity may be far more distinctly characterised than those of Hope or Fear.

The other abstractions which have been represented by human figures, Victory, Eternity, Abundance, &c. are recognised only by some of their perceptible effects, or by some real object whose idea is associated with their own. We should have much difficulty in inventing them, when wanted, if history and fable did not supply a number of arbitrary signs, which receive their meaning merely from convention. In the symbolic representation, the woman is merely an accessory. Eternity is very well represented by a globe and a phœnix: in the thirteenth medal of the first series, a woman sitting holds them in her hand. In the fifteenth medal there is no woman, though the idea is still the same; and if we examine all the other medals, we shall find that women are there merely to make a figure, but never answer the purpose of symbols.

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The provinces are of a middle kind; they are never symbols of countries, but are often so of the genius and manners of their inhabitants.

3. Mr. Addison proposes an explanation of the thirty-fifth ode of the first book of Horace, in speaking of a medal which represents Security resting on a pillar.*

> Regumque matres barbarorum, et
> Purpurei metuunt tyranni
> Injurioso ne pede proruas
> Stantem columnam.———

They feared lest Fortune might overturn the pillar of their security. But fear and security are inconsistent. Besides, Horace would not probably have made use of so subtle and far-fetched an allusion without giving warning of it, at least, by some epithet. Why may not these words be applied literally to those statues and pillars which flattery erects to tyrants, and which are commonly the first victims of popular fury at the time of a revolution? I conjecture that the poet might allude to the king of the Parthians, the most powerful monarch of the East. Fortune might justly be dreaded by the murderer of his father, and of his whole family. The Romans had seen proofs of his anxiety. He had given to Augustus several of his nearest relations as hostages, whom that emperor caused to be educated at Rome. The haughty Phrahates intended less to flatter the

* Dialogues upon Medals, Dial. ii. p. 47.

Romans

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Romans by this humiliating measure, than to deprive his discontented subjects of men fit to head their revolt.*

Rome, 29th December, 1764.

AN ACCOUNT OF A MS. BY THE ABBÉ G. V. GRAVINA, *Del Governo Civile di Roma.*

I HAVE been reading a MS. of the Abbé *Geo. Vicenzo Gravina,* which belongs to Mr. Lumsden, a Scotch gentleman, and a friend of Mr. Byers, through whose means I procured it. The title of it is, *Del Governo Civile di Roma; in 4to. pp. 76:* and its principal subject, the revolutions of the city after the fall of the empire; a subject which interests me much. This performance is an excellent abridgment, but merely an abridgment; the author not having sounded the depths of his subject, nor ransacked archives. His citations are few; and those only of well-known authors, such as Baronius, Blondus, or Sigonius. It may, however, be worth while to extract, without order or method, the particulars which I have learned from this work.

After the foundation of Constantinople, New Rome yielded in all matters of ceremony to her elder sister. The consul of the West preceded the consul of the East.—*Procopius's Secret History.* P. 7.

Mr. Gravina believes in the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. But, according to him, these P. 8.

* Tacit. Annal. ii. 1.

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princes gave the duchy of Rome and the exarchate of Ravenna to the popes, as chiefs of the senate and Roman republic during the vacancy of the empire.

P. 13, 14. In the insurrection of the Romans against King Hugh and Marozia, they established their ancient government by two annual consuls and tribunes. Young Alberic was one of the first consuls. Gravina cites Blondus; but Muratori, who places this event in the year 932 instead of 928, does not speak of consuls. I am inclined however to believe Gravina. The consuls were certainly re-established about that time.

P. 21. Mr. Gravina thinks that Otho III. abolished the consulship in 995, after the death of Crescentius. The observation seems probable; yet he does not give his authority; and it is proved that the office of consul subsisted immediately afterwards, as well as in the following age.

P. 43, 44. Innocent III. received the homage of the prefect of Rome, and granted to him the investiture of his office. *Sigon. de Regn. Ital.*—At the request of the people, he created fifty senators to govern the city; but as they exceedingly abused their power, he reduced them to one only, appointed to distribute justice. *Cantilius de Romana Historia à Carolo Magno.*

P. 55, 56. Under the pontificate of Martin IV. the Orsini, to avenge the affront which they had received from the Annibaldesi (who had driven them from Viterbo after the death of their uncle Nicholas III.), entered with an armed force into Rome, which they

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they ravaged with fire and sword. At that time were burnt the ancient edifices whose ruins are still visible on the declivity of the Capitoline hill.

A DISSERTATION ON THE SUBJECT OF L'HOMME AU MASQUE DE FER.

THE mysterious history of the famous French prisoner, known by the appellation of *l'Homme au Masque de Fer*, is related by M. Voltaire, in the *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, and in the *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.* That writer, the most sceptical and lively of his age, never attempts either to contest the truth, or to reveal the secret of that wonderful affair. *Je ne connois point de fait ni plus extraordinaire ni mieux constaté* is the just conclusion of his first account. In his subsequent additions, he refutes with force and contempt the idle suppositions that this unknown prisoner was the Duc de Beaufort, the Count de Vermandois, or the Duke of Monmouth. At length, breaking off abruptly, he throws out a dark intimation, *qu'il en sait peut-être plus que le Père Grifet, et qu'il n'en dira pas davantage.*

If we are disposed to exercise our curiosity and conjectures upon this historical anecdote, we must steadily remember, that no hypothesis can deserve the least credit, unless it corresponds with and explains the following circumstances:

1. The prisoner who passed his melancholy life in

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in the isles de St. Marguerite and the Bastile was called *Marchiali.* As the name was most assuredly fictitious, this circumstance seems, and indeed is, of small importance. However, in case an Italian was either the author of his birth, or the guardian of his infancy, a name drawn from that language would most naturally present itself.

2. Marchiali was buried secretly and by night, in the parish church of St. Paul's, on the third day of March in the year 1703, as is proved by the journal of the Père Grifet, who was entrusted with the very delicate employment of confessor to the Bastile. A few days before his death, the unknown prisoner told his physician that he believed himself about sixty years of age. If he reckoned with precision, he was born in the spring of the year 1643, about the time of the death of Louis the Thirteenth. But the dreary hours of a prison move slowly, and the infirmities of age are hastened by grief and solitude. Marchiali could speak only from conjecture; nor is it unlikely that he might be somewhat younger than he supposed himself.

3. He was conducted to the Isles de St. Marguerite on the coast of Provence, some months after the death of Cardinal Mazarin; that is to say, about the end of the year 1661, or the beginning of 1662. This is the first among the few events of his life. M. de Voltaire mentions, in one place, a previous confinement at Pignerol; but without being perfectly clear, or even consistent, on that head.

4. Mar-

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4. Marchiali, whoever he was, had never acted any distinguished part on the public theatre of the world. The sudden absence of such a person, in any part of Europe, would infallibly have occasioned much wonder and inquiry, some traces of which must have reached our knowledge. But in this instance, using the amplest latitude of time, we cannot even discover any one important *death*, that leaves the minutest opening for our most licentious suspicions.

5. An illustrious birth was therefore the only advantage by which the prisoner could be distinguished; and his birth must indeed have been illustrious, since, when Monsieur de Louvois made him a visit, he spoke to him standing, and *avec une considération qui tenoit du respect.* We must ascend very high ere we can attain a rank which that proud and powerful minister of the French monarchy could think it his duty to *respect.*

6. The most extraordinary precautions were employed, not only to secure, but to conceal, this mysterious captive; and his guards were ordered to kill him, if he made the least attempt to discover himself. That order, as well as the silver plate which he threw out of the prison window, after writing something upon it, and which fell into the hands of an illiterate fisherman, sufficiently prove that he was acquainted with his own name and condition. The mask, which he never was permitted to lay aside, shews the apprehension of the discovery of some very striking resemblance.

7. Pri-

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7. Prisoners of such alarming importance are seldom suffered to live. Of all precautions, the dagger or the bowl are undoubtedly the surest. Nothing but the most powerful motives, or, indeed, the tenderest ties, could have stopped the monarch's hand, and induced him rather to risk a discovery, than to spill the blood of this unfortunate man. He was lodged in the best apartment of the Bastille, his table was served in the most delicate manner, he was allowed to play on the guitar, and supplied with the finest laces and linen, of which he was passionately fond. Every kind attention was studiously practised, that could in any wise alleviate the irksomeness of his perpetual imprisonment.

8. When Monsieur de Chamillard, in the year 1721, was on his death-bed, his son-in-law, the Marechal de la Feuillade, begged on his knees, that he would disclose to him that mysterious transaction. The dying minister refused to gratify this unseasonable curiosity. "It was the secret of the state, (he said,) and he had taken an oath never to divulge it." The prisoner had then been dead eighteen years, and Louis the Fourteenth almost six. It must have been a secret of no common magnitude that could still affect the peace and welfare of future generations.

Before we proceed to a probable solution of these strange circumstances, let us try to connect them with some facts of a more public and general nature.

1. The doubtful birth of Louis XIV. often occurs,

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curs, in conversation, as the subject of historical scepticism. The first grounds of the suspicion are obvious. He was born after a sterile union of twenty-three years between Louis the Thirteenth and Anne of Austria. But as such an event, however unfrequent, is neither destitute of possibility, nor even of example, the scandalous rumour would long since have died away in oblivion, had it not derived additional strength from the character and situation of the royal pair.

2. Though Louis XIII. wanted not either parts or courage, his character was degraded by a coldness and debility, both of mind and body, which had little affinity with his heroic father. Had his indifference towards the sex been confined to the queen, it might have been considered as the mere effect of personal dislike; but his *chaste* amours with his female favourites betrayed to the laughing court, that the king was less than a man.

3. Without reviving all the obsolete scandal of the *fronde*, we may respectfully insinuate that Anne of Austria's reputation of chastity was never so firmly established as that of her husband. To the coquetry of France, the queen united the warm passions of a Spaniard. Her friends acknowledge that she was gay, indiscreet, vain of her charms, and strongly addicted at least to romantic gallantry. It is well known that she permitted some distinguished favourites to entertain her with soft tales of her beauty, and their love; and thus removed the distant ceremony, which is perhaps the surest defence of royal virtue. Anne of

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of Austria passed twenty-eight years with a husband alike incapable of gratifying her tender or her sensual inclinations. At the age of forty-three, she was left an independent widow, mistress of herself, and of the kingdom.

4. The civil wars which raged during the minority of Louis XIV. arose from the blind and unaccountable attachment of the queen to Cardinal Mazarin, whom she obstinately supported against the universal clamour of the French nation. The Austrian pride, perhaps, and the useful merit of the minister, might determine the queen to brave an insolent opposition; but a connection, formed by policy, might very easily terminate in love. The necessity of business would engage that princess in many a secret and midnight conference with an Italian of an agreeable person, vigorous constitution, loose morals, and artful address. The amazing anecdote hinted at in the honest memoirs of La Porte, sufficiently proves that Mazarin was capable of employing every expedient to insinuate himself into *every part* of the royal family.

5. If Anne of Austria yielded to such opportunities, and to so artful a lover; if she became a mother after her husband's death, her weakness, and the consequences of it, would have been carefully screened from the eye of curious malignity. When Louis XIV. succeeded to the possession of the kingdom, and of the fatal secret, he was deeply interested in the guard of his own, and of his mother's honour. Had her frailty been revealed to the world, the living proof would have awakened and

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and confirmed all the latent suspicions, diffused a spirit of distrust and division among the people, and shaken the hereditary claim of the monarch. If the strong grasp of Louis XIV. retained the French sceptre, the doubt and the danger were entailed on future ages. In some feeble, or infant reign, an ambitious Condé might embrace the fair pretence to assert the right to his genuine branch, and to exclude from the succession the spurious posterity of Louis XIII.

In a word, the child of Anne of Austria and of Cardinal Mazarin would have been at once the brother and the most dangerous enemy of his sovereign. The humanity of Louis XIV. might have declined a brother's murder; but pride, policy, and even patriotism, must have compelled that prince to hide his face and his existence with an iron mask and the walls of the Bastille.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that I suppose the unfortunate Marchiali to have been that child. If the several facts which I have drawn together blend themselves, without constraint, into a consistent and natural system, it is surely no weak argument in favour of the truth, or at least of the probability of my opinion.

May 27th, 1774.

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Lausanne, 10 Décembre, 1756.

MÉMOIRES POSTHUMES DE M. DE CHESEAUX.

Je n'ai lu qu'une très petite partie de cet ouvrage. Les calculs dont il est rempli, en interdisent l'entrée à quiconque n'est pas mathématicien achevé. Cependant la partie chronologique que j'ai lu m'a fait bien du plaisir. Un grand astronome est en état d'y répandre bien de la lumière, mais il n'y a guères que M. Newton et M. de Cheseaux qui l'ayent tenté.

Il fait une remarque assez curieuse sur le verset 12. ch. vii. de Daniel, où il est dit que la domination fut enlevée aux autres bêtes après que leur vie eut été prolongée à un tems et un tems. Il le paraphrase de cette manière. La domination (*app. des Babyloniens*) des Perses et des Grecs fut aussi détruite après qu'elle eut durée 720 ans, entendant par ces deux tems, deux années prophétiques de 360 ans chacune; et en effet ces trois empires durèrent 720 ans, depuis le commencement de Nabonassar en 747 A. C. jusqu'au tems qu'Octavien reçut le nom d'Auguste du sénat Romain, et qu'il devint le premier empereur en 27 A. C. Quoiqu'on pourroit faire quelques objections contre ce sentiment, cependant on doit au moins avouer que *si non vero e ben trovato*. On pourroit dire par exemple que si Daniel avoit voulu parler de l'empire Babylonien il n'auroit dû commencer qu'à Nabuchodonosor, ou tout au plus à Nabopolassar son père, ce qui ne fait que 598 ans, les rois précédens de Babylone ne faisant

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faisant pas plus à l'empire Babylonien que les rois de Macédoine depuis Caranus jusqu'à Alexandre ne faisoient à l'empire Macédonien.* Et si pour obvier à cet inconvénient on dit que la première domination, dont parle Daniel, n'étoit point celle des Babyloniens, mais celle des Assyriens, ce sera bien pis; le sentiment d'Hérodote, le plus modéré sur la durée de leur empire, plaçant son commencement dans un tems éloigné de 1240 ans de celui d'Auguste. Voy. Herodot. lib. i. p. 66. Edit. Henr. Steph. Usser. ad A. M. 2737.

Il croit aussi avoir fait une découverte sur la vision du huitième chapitre: il prétend que les 2300 soirs et matins, dont il est parlé au v. 14, signifient les sacrifices du soir et du matin du temple: 2300 de ces sacrifices font 1150 jours; mais il croit que ces 1150 jours de sacrifices se rapportoient seulement aux trois grandes fêtes des Juifs; ainsi 1150 faisoient 383 ans et une fête de l'année

* Les princes de Perse depuis Achæmenes jusqu'à Cyrus le Persan, ou les rois et les consuls depuis Romulus jusqu'à Auguste à celui de Rome. Il ne s'agit point ici de leur existence comme petit état, mais comme monarchie assez puissante pour l'emporter de beaucoup sur toutes les autres, et pour mériter les noms des quatre grands empires. Pour ce qui regarde la foiblesse du royaume de Babylone jusqu'à Nabopolassar, voici ce qu'en dit le Père Pétau: "Quod regnum (Babylonicum, scilicet) victis tenue et Assyriis obnoxium ab Nabopolassaro ejusque filio Nabuchodonosoro amplificatum est, ut et Medos ipsos et Assyrios sibi subjiceret." Petavii Ration. Temp. p. ii. 3. c. 3. p. 80; sans compter qu'il seroit pour le moins aussi naturel de placer la fin de l'empire de Macédoine à la destruction du royaume de Macédoine qu'à celle du royaume d'Egypte.

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suivante. Il établit ensuite que le dernier sacrifice avant la persécution d'Antiochus fut celui de Pâques 168 ans avant notre Seigneur. De la fête de Pâques d'168 inclusivement jusqu'à celle des Tabernacles de 552 exclusivement, se trouvent justement 383 ans plus une fête. Il s'agit donc de prouver que Daniel eut cette vision dans le tems marqué. Il nous dit lui-même qu'il l'eut dans la troisième année du règne du roi Balsatsar. On suppose avec Prideaux que ce Balsatsar est le Nabonadius de Ptolémée. Nabonadius commença à régner 555 ans avant notre Seigneur. La question est, dans quel tems de l'année. Si c'étoit dans l'automne, l'époque que nous cherchons tombe dans la troisième année du règne de Balsatsar, et le système de M. de Cheseaux est bien lié ; mais s'il commença plutôt, cette même époque se trouve dans son quatrième an. M. de Cheseaux allègue quelques argumens en faveur du premier sentiment.

Mais une seule observation suffit pour les détruire, c'est qu'il ne faut point aller chercher en Ptolémée, la durée précise du règne de chaque roi. M. de Cheseaux en convient lui-même. Ainsi quand même on auroit prouvé que Cyrus prit Babylone en automme on n'auroit point prouvé, que Nabonadius monta sur le trône dans la même saison, et quand vous auriez fait voir qu'Evil-Mérodach monta sur le trône au commencement de l'année vous n'auriez encore point fixé le commencement quant au mois du règne de Nabonadius. Le règne de Tibère dura 22 ans suivant le canon. Or Tibère mourut au mois de Mars de l'an 37. Vous croyez

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croyez pouvoir inférer de-là que Tibère commença à régner au mois de Mars de l'an 15. Point du tout: il avoit commencé au mois d'Août de l'an 14. Mais Ptolémée ne comptoit que les années révolues qui n'étoient en effet que 22.

M. de Cheseaux apporte encore un argument en faveur de son hypothèse. C'est le règne de Laborosoarchod de neuf mois qu'il prétend que Ptolémée avoit renfermé dans celui de Nabonadius. Evil-Mérodach, dit-il, commença à régner à peu près avec l'année 561; ôtez-en 23 ans et neuf mois (comptant apart les neuf mois de Laborosoarchod) vous allez à l'automne de 538, dans laquelle Babylone aura été pris par Cyrus. Mais sans parler de ma première remarque, ce calcul me semble fondé sur une supposition qu'on aura peine à admettre, que Ptolémée avoit renfermé les neuf mois de Laborosoarchod dans le règne de Balsatsar, et qu'alors, pour ôter à Balsatsar ce qu'il lui avoit donné de trop, il avoit ajouté au règne de Cyrus, neuf mois de celui de son prédécesseur. Sans cette supposition on voit clairement que le commencement d'Evil-Mérodach, bien loin d'être avantageux à Mons. de Cheseaux lui seroit très nuisible, puisqu'il s'en ensuivroit que Nabonadius commença à gouverner au mois de Janvier environ de 535. Mais deux raisons me font rejetter cette supposition, et me font croire que le court règne de Laborosoarchod étoit plutôt contenu dans celui de son père Nériglissar. I. Nériglissar fut tué dans une grande bataille que Cyrus, à la tête des Mèdes et des Perses, gagna sur les Assyriens. Ce fait est

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certain, Prideaux en convient, et on ne sauroit le révoquer en doute sans renverser entièrement l'histoire de Xénophon que M. de Cheseaux reconnoît lui-même. Or quelle apparence y a-t-il qu'une telle battaille se soit donné au plus fort de l'hiver?

II. Nous voyons que la coutume ordinaire de Ptolémée, à l'égard des princes qu'il passoit sous silence, étoit de renfermer leurs règnes plutôt dans ceux de leurs prédécesseurs que dans ceux de leurs successeurs. L'usurpation des Mages est contenue dans les huit ans de Cambyses, les règnes de Galba, d'Othon, et de Vitellius dans les 14 de Néron. M. de Cheseaux sent le poids d'une pareille induction, veut s'en servir aussi à son tour, et pour cet effet il prétend que Ptolémée renferma dans le règne d'Artaxerxe Longimanus sept mois que régna son prédécesseur Artapan. Je connois cet Artapan, mais je ne crois pas qu'il régna jamais en Perse. Voici ce que je trouve sur son compte en Ctesias, médecin de Darius, fils de cet Artaxerxes. Ἀρτάπανος δὲ, μέγα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ δυνάμενος μετὰ Σπαμίτρου τοῦ Ἡμιάρρεως. καὶ αὐτὸς μέγα δυναμένω βουλεύονται ἀνελεῖν Ξέρξην καὶ ἀναιροῦσι . . . . καὶ βασιλεύει Ἀρταξέρξης. σπουδῇ Ἀρταπάνῃ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ . . . . καὶ Ἀναιρεῖται Ἀρταπάνος. . . . *Ctesiæ Fragm. ad Calc. Herod. edit. Hen. Steph. p.* 666, 667. Justin dit à peu près les mêmes choses, *Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 1. aussi bien que *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliot. Histor. lib. xi. c.* 69. *p.* 391, 92. *Traduct. Rhod.* et les chronologistes modernes les plus habiles ne se sont pas écartés de ce sentiment. Voy. Petav. Ration. Tempor. l. 1. l. 3. c. 6. p. 80. Edit. Lugd.

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Lugd. Batav. et Prideaux, Histoire des Juifs à l'an avant N. S. 465.

Ce seroit bien pis si on alloit contester la vérité de l'histoire de Xénophon que M. de Cheseaux suppose toujours démontrée. Je sais que tous les systèmes qu'on a formé pour expliquer les premiers temps de l'empire des Perses auront leurs difficultés. Toutefois après avoir lu la belle dissertation de M. Freret, (juge impartial, puisqu'en condamnant Xénophon d'un côté il le défend d'un autre,) on aura bien de la peine peut-être à se refuser au sien qui paroît plausible, lié, et débarrassé des plus grandes objections. V. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p.* 588, *tom. x. p.* 778. Un tel système ne laisse plus d'espérance à celui de M. de Cheseaux. La troisième année de Balsatsar (alors Evil-Mérodach) sera avancée de sept ans, tombera sur l'an A. C. 559.

Fait environ le 10 Décembre, 1756.

Lausanne, 10 Novembre, 1757.

REMARQUES SUR QUELQUES PRODIGES.

Le philosophe ouvre les yeux. Il considère la terre et ses habitans. Il croit voir un palais bâti par les mains des fées. Partout il ne voit que des prodiges, les histoires en sont pleines, * * * * * * * * * * * *. Tantôt c'est un dogme obscur prouvé par un miracle puérile; tantôt c'est le ciel qui ordonne le massacre des mécréans, ou

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qui prône avec éclat les vertus d'un tyran. Le philosophe dépouille ces prodiges de ce qu'ils peuvent avoir d'imposant pour les considérer en eux-mêmes. Aussitôt les fantômes s'évanouissent. Il n'apperçoit plus que de tristes vestiges de la politique des grands, de la crédulité des petits, de l'adulation des historiens, et de l'imposture des prêtres.

L'examen de deux événemens miraculeux tirés d'un historien aussi exact que peu élégant, servira de preuve à ces réflexions. Nous verrons que de pareilles recherches produiront l'incrédulité, mais une incrédulité sage et éclairée, dont plus d'un saint et plus d'un père de l'église auroit souvent eu besoin.

I. Un jour qu'on agitoit en sénat l'affaire de la conjuration de Catilina, Octavius, père d'Auguste, y arriva un peu tard. Nigidius Figulus, ami de Cicéron,(1) et comme lui politique et savant,(2) lui demanda la raison de son délai. Octave allégua sa femme qui venoit dans ce moment d'accoucher. Sur quoi Nigidius, ayant rêvé un moment, lui répondit: Votre femme vient de mettre au jour le maître de la terre.(3) On sait de quelle façon Auguste remplit sa destinée. Voilà un édifice pompeux, faisons-le disparoître. Nous y réussirons précisément à l'aide de ces circonstances de tems et de lieu qui sembloient en assurer la durée.

(1) Cicero. pro Sullâ. c. 14. Epist. ad Fam. l. iv. Ep. 13.
(2) Serv. ad Virgil. l. x. v. 175.
(3) Suet. l. ii. c. 94.

Lorsqu'Octave vint en sénat le jour de la naissance de son fils, on y traitoit de l'affaire de Catilina. Or Auguste naquit le vingt-trois de Septembre sous le consulat de M. Tullius Cicero et de C. Antonius,

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C. Antonius, A. U. C. Varron, 691. C'est une vérité si connue que je pourrois me dispenser de la prouver.(1) Cicéron prononça sa première Catilinaire en sénat, le 8 Novembre de la même année.(2) Il y dit que c'étoit le vingtième jour depuis que le sénat eût armé les mains des consuls par le fameux décret, " Darent operam consules, ne quid Respublica capiat detrementi."(3) On leur conféra donc ce pouvoir le 20 Octobre. Mais nous apprenons de Salluste, écrivain contemporain, que ce décret se passa immédiatement après la première indication que Cicéron fit de la conjuration au sénat. " Rem ad senatum refert jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet senatus decrevit, &c."(4) Comment dont le sénat pouvoit-il délibérer de la conjuration de Catilina le 23 Septembre de l'an 691, puisqu'il l'ignora lui-même jusqu'au 20 Octobre de la même année?

(1) Suet. l. ii. c. 5.
(2) Middleton's Life of Cicero, vol. i, p. 185. Ciceron. Hist. par Fabric. ad Calcem. edit. Verbugg. p. 16.
(3) Cicero in Catilin. c. 8.
(4) Sallust. Hist. Catil. Bell. c. 29.

II. Q. Lutatius Catulus, (magnæ spes altera Romæ,)(5) que Sulla appelloit le meilleur citoyen de la République, et qui justifia ce titre en repoussant les desseins séditieux de Lepidus,(6) après avoir dédié le temple de Jupiter Capitolin eut deux songes remarquables. Il crut voir dans le premier ce Dieu qui remettoit dans le sein d'un jeune garçon " signum reipublicæ,"* et dans le second, voulant ôter ce même garçon des bras de Jupiter, il reçut ordre de l'y laisser parceque la divinité l'élevoit pour être un jour le protecteur de

(5) Cicero pro Leg. Manil. c. 20.
(6) Sallust. Fragm. Hist. l. i. Flori Breviar. l. iii. c. 23. L. Ampel. Lil. Memorial. p. 322. ad Calc. Flori.

* Je ne le traduis pas, parcequ'on ne sait pas bien ce que c'est. Torrentius et Casaubon sont d'un avis différent là-dessus.

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la république.(1) Le lendemain il vit Auguste alors enfant, et qui ne lui étoit pas connu. Il le reconnut pour être celui qu'il avoit vu en songe. Suivant d'autres relations, il avoit vu une troupe d'enfans qui demandoit à Jupiter un de leur bande pour la gouverner. Il leur indiqua le jeune Auguste. Cette fable, encore plus éblouissante que la première, ne soutiendra pas mieux l'épreuve de l'examen.

(1) Sueton. l. ii. c. 94.

Lorsque Suétone nous dit que Catulus eut ces songes " post dedicatum Capitolium," la bonne critique veut qu'on l'entende d'abord après cette consécration, le soir même qui la suivit, ou du moins les premiers jours après, pendant que la mémoire de cet événement étoit encore fraiche. Sans cela rien de plus vague et de moins déterminé que cette désignation du tems. Or Catulus consacra le Capitole A. U. C. Varr. 684,(2)* sept ans avant la naissance d'Auguste. Mais prenons ces paroles dans le sens le plus favorable, et supposons que Suétone n'a songé parler qu'à désigner le Catulus dont il vouloit parler pour être celui qui dédia le Capitole; en ce cas même nous

(2) Cicero in Verrem. l. iv. c. 31. T. Livii Epitom. l. xcviii.

* J'ai rencontré depuis un endroit de Suétone qui pourroit faire croire que le Capitole n'étoit pas encore achevé du tems de la préture de César A. U. C. 691. Le voici: " Primo prætura die, Q. Catulum de refectione Capitolii ad disquisitionem populi vocavit, rogatione promulgatâ quâ curationem eam in alium transferebat."(3) Que le lecteur pèse l'évidence qui résulte de ce passage avec celle qui nait du témoignage combiné de Cicéron et de Tite Live. Son choix ne sera pas difficile, mais quel qu'il soit il m'intéresse peu. Je fais voir dans un moment que Catulus n'étoit plus quand ce songe a dû avoir lieu.

(3) Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 15.

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ne manquerons pas de moyens pour réfuter cette fable. Catulus étoit déjà fort vieux l'année de la naissance d'Auguste, " extremâ ætate," dit Salluste.(1) Il étoit mort quand Cicéron défendit Sextius: car cet orateur, faisant le tableau d'un vrai citoyen, après avoir parlé de quelques autres, il dit, " Neve eorum aliquem qui vivunt nominem qualis nuper fuit Q. Catulus."(2) Or Cicéron prononça cette harangue A. U. C. Varron, 698.(3) D'un autre côté quand Catulus rencontra Auguste il avoit déjà pris la prætexta.(4) Anciennement les jeunes gens ne la portoient que depuis l'age de quatorze ans.(5) Cependant je veux bien supposer que l'on avance cette prise à proportion de celle de la robe virile; anciennement on la prenoit à l'age de dix-sept ans.(6) Auguste la prit à celui de seize(7) ou bien de quatorze ans.(8) Ainsi il prit la prætexta étant agé de onze ou de treize ans, savoir en 702, on en 704. On vient de voir que Catulus étoit mort plus de six ans auparavant.

(1) Sallust. Bell. Catilin. c. 49.

(2) Cicero pro Sextio, c. 47.

(3) Fabr. Ciceron. Hist. p. 22.

(4) Sueton. loc. citat.

(5) V. Pitisc. Lexicon. tom. iii. p. 163. sub voc. Prætexta. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 6.

(6) Middleton's Life of Cicero, tom. i. p. 13.

(7) Sueton. l. ii. c. 3.

(8) V. Notas Grævii in locum supra laudatum.

Puisqu'on détruit si facilement des événemens miraculeux supposés être arrivés dans un tems éclairé, rapportés par un historien très exact et voisin de ce tems-là,* qu'en doit-on conclure de mille de leurs pareils nés au milieu de l'ignorance, enveloppés dans l'éloignement des tems, et adoptés par des légendaires?

* C. Suetonius étoit contemporain de Tacite, puisque Pline le jeune étoit ami de tous les deux. Or Tacite avoit vu des vieillards qui avoient assisté au jugement de Pison et qui par conséquent avoient vécu avec bien des personnes du siècle même d'Auguste. *V. Tacit Annal. iii. c. 16.*

J'avouerois

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J'avouerois franchement que je ne saurois venir à bout avec la même facilité d'une prophétie qui avoit cours parmi les Véliternes, concitoyens d'Auguste. Je souhaite que quelqu'autre puisse être plus heureux que moi. Le mur de leur ville avoit été touché de la foudre. Ils consultent les augures. On leur répond qu'il est annoncé par là, qu'ils doivent un jour donner un maître au monde. En conséquent de cette espérance ils soutinrent la guerre contre les Romains avec opiniâtreté, jusqu'à en être presque exterminés. Ils virent à la fin que la prédiction avoit regardé Auguste. (1). Je n'aurois point fait attention à cette prophétie, et je l'aurois rangé sur le champ parmi mille autres fables que la flatterie inventa pour relever la naissance et les vertus d'Auguste, si un passage singulier de Tite Live n'avoit pas frappé ma mémoire. Le voici: les Romains, après avoir subjugé les diverses cités de Latium, en agirent envers eux avec assez de douceur. Ils accordèrent même la bourgeoisie de leur ville à plusieurs d'entr'elles ; mais ils distinguèrent ceux de Velitræ par une sévérité toute particulière. Ils divisèrent les terres des sénateurs à une colonie qu'ils y envoyèrent. Ils bannirent tous les citoyens de Velitræ de l'autre côté du Tibre, leur ordonnant d'y rester sous peine d'une grande amende, ou de la prison, pour quiconque contreviendroit à leurs ordres.* (2.) Ce passage en lui-même est singulier,

(1) Sueton. l. ii. c. 94.

(2) Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 14.

* Tite Live ajouta qu'on les traita avec cette sévérité, " quod toties rebellassent," jusqu'à massacrer une colonie Romaine qu'on avoit envoyée chez eux.

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et le devient bien davantage en le combinant avec celui de Suétone. 1. Cette obstination des Veliternes est tout à fait surprenante. Pourquoi cette petite ville de Latium s'est-elle distinguée à vouloir lutter contre les Romains plutôt que plusieurs autres de ses voisines plus puissantes qu'elle? L'étourderie d'une populace effrénée auroit bien pu produire une seule rebellion, mais pour rendre raison de si fréquentes récidives, on a besoin d'un principe répandu parmi le peuple qui leur donnoit l'espérance de pouvoir réussir. Suétone nous le fournit, ce principe. Et en effet je ne connois qu'un motif de religion capable de réchauffer tout un peuple, et de le faire persister dans le mépris des plus grands dangers. 2. Cette conduite sévère des Romains est aussi singulière. Leur politique et peut-être aussi leur orgueil les engageoit à traiter les vaincus avec bonté quelque opiniâtre qu'eût été leur résistance: " parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." Parmi tous les autres peuples de l'Italie je ne connois guères que ceux de Capoue qu'ils ayent traité avec une pareille rigueur. (1) Or les Capouens étoient encore pour eux non seulement un objet de haine mais de crainte. (2) Ainsi il est presque nécessaire de supposer quelque chose de pareil au sujet des Véliternes. Mais on ne conçoit guères comment ce petit peuple pouvoit leur inspirer de l'effroi qu'à l'aide de leur propre fanatisme, et de la superstition des Romains, qui craignoient cette prédiction, et qui cherchoient à en empêcher l'accomplissement.

(1) Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 34.

(2) Cicero de Leg. Agrar. contr. Rullum. ii. c. 32.

Cependant elle s'est accomplie. Velitræ à donné au

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au monde un maître dans la personne d'Auguste dont la famille étoit de cette ville. (1) Quelle conséquence faut-il en tirer? Nous pouvons y puiser une leçon non moins utile que les précédentes.* Bien des peuples ont eu leurs prédictions d'un roi qui devoit gouverner le monde. Le hasard ou quelquefois l'envie qu'on a eu de les accomplir en a fait réussir, sans qu'une puissance surnaturelle s'en soit mêlé (car personne je crois ne la fera intervenir dans celle d'Auguste). Apprenons par-là à peser long tems les prophéties avant que d'en conclure quelque chose, et souvenons que plusieurs toutes humaines ont pu réussir quoique très peu vraisemblables dans le tems qu'on les a faites.

(1) Sueton. l. xi. c. 1.

* Bien des prédictions ont fait espérer à bien des peuples de donner un roi à la terre. Parmi un nombre infini d'événemens possibles, il y en a qui n'arriveront pas moins pour avoir été prédits, surtout lorsque les hommes, après s'être laissés subjuguer par les préjugés, règlent leurs actions par ces mêmes préjugés et deviennent les ministres d'un destin dont ils avoient été les auteurs. Souvenons-nous surtout, c'est ici qu'on ne peut trop souvent inculquer cette leçon de la réponse de Diagoras au superstitieux de son tems: il lui montroit les monumens de la reconnoissance de ceux que Neptune avoit conservé des tempêtes: Que te faut-il encore, impie, lui disoit-il, pour te convaincre de la providence des Dieux? Rien, répliqua-t-il, si ce n'est de me faire voir les portraits de ceux qui ont invoqué Neptune, et qui sont péris en l'invoquant.

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REMARQUES CRITIQUES SUR LES DIGNITÉS SACERDOTALES DE JULES CÉSAR.

Assez d'historiens et de critiques ont considéré César à la tête des armées. Envisageons-le un moment au pied des autels, et discutons, en peu de mots, ce que les anciens nous ont laissé au sujet de ses dignités sacerdotales.

César perdit son père, dit Suétone, (1) à l'age de seize ans. Dans sa première jeunesse il avoit épousé une certaine Cossutia, fille des plus riches, mais dont la famille n'étoit que de l'ordre des chevaliers. Cinna, alors maître et seul maître depuis la mort de Marius, voyant que la naissance attachoit César à son parti,* et qu'il étoit capable d'en être un jour le soutien, résolut de l'y attacher encore davantage en lui donnant sa fille Cornelia en mariage: il falloit pour cela répudier Cossutia: César le fit, et la dignité de flamen Dialis, la troisième de l'hiérarchie Romaine, fut le prix de sa complaisance. Sylla revient en Italie; son caractère lui inspiroit des désirs ardens de vengeance, sa victoire le mettoit en état de les assouvir. Soit amour, soit fierté, César ne voulut jamais abandonner sa Cornelia; son refus lui coûta son pontificat, ses biens de famille, et risqua de lui coûter la vie. Dans ce petit récit je n'ai point fait attention à Plutarque, qui veut que César ne briguât le flaminiat qu'après le retour de Sylla, qui le fit échouer pour se venger. (2) L'autorité de Plutarque,

(1) Sueton. L. i. c. 1. Vell. Pater. Hist. Rom. L. ii. c. 43.

(2) Plutarq. Viesd'Hom. Illustr. traduct de Dacier. Tom. vi. p. 184.

* Marius avoit épousé Julia, la tante de César.

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tarque, surtout dans l'histoire Romaine, n'est pas faite pour balancer un moment celle de Suétone et de Velleius Paterculus.

J'ai dégagé ce récit d'une petite difficulté de chronologie. Il faut y revenir un moment. Velleius prétend que César fut nommé au flaminiat, " creatus," par Marius et Cinna. Or il est clair par le passage de Suétone que César n'eut l'assurance de cette dignité que dans le quatrième consulat de Cinna, savoir, A. U. C. Varr. 670. Fort bien. Mais malheureusement il se trouve que Marius étoit mort au commencement de A. U. C. 668. On pourroit affecter de mépriser la difficulté en disant qu'elle se trouve dans un passage manifestement corrompu. Mais il n'y auroit pas là de l'équité. On pourroit avoir recours au système du Cardinal Norris que César fut fait flamen avant la première victoire de Sylla, à l'age de douze ans; mais le célèbre Burman a fait voir son peu d'accord avec les anciens monumens. En voici un autre: Marius s'empara de Rome en 667, et le flamen Merula se donna la mort. La place de flamen ne devoit pas rester longtems vuide, vu le grand besoin qu'on en avoit toujours. Marius et Cinna le remplacèrent aussitôt par le jeune César; mais comme il n'avoit pas encore pris la toge virile, on fit faire ses fonctions à quelque autre. César enfin la prit à la fin de sa seizième année, savoir au commencement de l'an 670, et du quatrième consulat de Cinna. On prit aussitôt de nouvelles mesures pour lui assurer cette dignité, mais la mort de Cinna, qui fut tué cette même année,

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année, dans une sédition de ses soldats, les rompit toutes avant sa consécration, et la guerre civile qui survint l'année suivante en fit perdre toute espérance. Peut-être si nous étions plus au fait du droit pontifical des Romains sentirions-nous une différence entre le *creatus* de Velleius et le *destinatus* de Suétone, qui confirmeroit ce que je viens de dire; peut-être se détruiroit-elle. Aussi l'ai-je donné moins comme un système que je m'engage de défendre que comme une hypothèse qui résout assez naturellement la difficulté.

On peut voir assez par l'exemple de César qu'il n'y avoit point d'age fixe pour la dignité de flamen Dialis, puisqu'à ne nous en tenir qu'à ce que nous savons bien sûrement César la posséda avant l'age de dix-sept ans. Je crois que cette réflexion peut s'étendre à toutes les autres dignités sacerdotales chez les Romains. Pour le pontificat, nous croyons que le jeune Octavien étoit pontife avant vingt ans, et nous savons d'ailleurs qu'il fut nommé à cet emploi à la place de Cn. Domitius tué à la bataille de Pharsale A.U.C. 706; et qu'il en prit possession le jour même qu'il quitta la prætexta pour la toge virile à l'entrée de sa seizième année. On auroit même mauvaise grace de dire que le pouvoir absolu du dictateur son oncle le dispensa des loix. César n'étoit pas encore absolu, et dans ce tems-là le petit-fils de sa sœur lui étoit peu cher. Quant aux augures, Cicéron pria Brutus de laisser venir à Rome son fils alors à l'armée, afin qu'il pût prétendre à l'augurat. Ce fils couroit alors sa vingt-

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vingt-unième année; et cet exemple est d'autant plus considérable que l'on voit par le reste de la lettre l'attention et le soin qu'avoit Cicéron de ne point manquer aux loix. J'avoue naturellement ma surprise que Numa n'ait pas songé à fixer un age plus convenable pour les ministres de la religion. Encore en Egypte ou dans la Judée, où les prêtres faisoient un corps dont tous les membres succoient l'esprit de leur état avec le lait, les abus n'auroient pas été aussi grands; mais à Rome, où leur état ne les engageoit à rien, l'age en auroit tenu la place. Mais quel frein avoient les jeunes gens?

On a dit que depuis la mort de Merula, (car César ne fut point consacré,) la place de flamen Dialis resta vuide pendant soixante et douze ans. Est-il vrai? On me cite les autorités accablantes de Suétone, de Dion, de Tacite. La première est la plus considérable, puisque le nom de Suétone réveille l'idée d'un historien assez hardi pour ne pas taire les plus grandes vérités, assez instruit pour n'en pas oublier les plus petites. Mais Suétone se contente de dire qu'Auguste rétablit plusieurs anciennes cérémonies, et entr'autres l'emploi de flamen Dialis. Dion et Tacite disent positivement qu'il n'y eut point de flamen Dialis entre Merula et celui qu'Auguste fit élire. Mais on peut leur opposer le témoignage positif de Cicéron qui parloit d'un fait qu'il ne pouvoit ignorer. "Est ergo flamen," dit-il au sénat assemblé, "ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Julio M. Antonius." On voit qu'il

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qu'il parle d'un flamen actuel et non point d'une dignité presque tombée dans l'oubli. On auroit tort d'opposer Cicéron à lui-même, et dire que Cicéron, dans le dénombrement qu'il fait du collège des pontifes, ne parle point du flamen Dialis. On auroit tort de fixer une cause particulière à une omission qui pouvoit en avoir cent autres.

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PRINCIPES

DES POIDS, DES MONNOIES, ET DES MESURES DES ANCIENS,

AVEC DES TABLES CONSTRUITES SUR CES PRINCIPES.

I.

Il est des études qui n'augmentent point les connoissances, ou du moins ne les augmentent, qu'en écartant ces obstacles dont la bizarrerie des hommes en a hérissés la route de toutes parts. Telle est l'étude des langues, utile si on la méprise, dangereuse si on l'admire. La différence des poids et des mesures est un nouveau langage, aussi barbare et plus ridicule que les autres. Les idées décident des mots. Mais pour ces signes d'institution les idées sont ou seroient facilement les mêmes. Cependant puisqu'il est établi, apprenons-la (cette langue) en murmurant. Elle nous servira d'interprète dans la géographie, le commerce, et l'économique des anciens, objets intéressans dont la connoissance nous empêchera de voir dans les anciens des sauvages ou des demi-dieux.

J'écris en François, parcequ'on y a assez besoin de quelque chose sur ce sujet, pour ne pas me chicaner sur sa bonté. Je me sers sans façon des idées qui m'ont plues chez mes devanciers. Je les ai enchassées dans les miennes. On n'aura pas de peine à les reconnoître. Voici les principaux auteurs chez qui j'ai puisé.

M. Greaves

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M. Greaves sur le Pied et Denier Romain, en Anglois. Petit livre mais excellent. M. Greaves possédoit les talens d'un bon faiseur d'expériences. Exact jusqu'à la superstition, patient, laborieux, habile, et sincère, il croyoit n'avoir rien vu dans un objet qu'il n'y eut tout vu. On peut cependant faire plus de fonds sur son témoignage que sur sa critique. Liste des auteurs. GREAVES.

M. Eisenschidt de Ponderibus et Mensuris Veterum. La première partie est fort bonne. Les poids y sont traités avec une exactitude qui ne laissent rien à désirer. Mais l'auteur s'y est épuisé. Il a croqué les mesures en apprenti. Rien de plus abrégé et de plus vague que ce qu'il en dit. L'ouvrage est pourtant estimable par la comparaison de toutes les mesures et les poids de nos jours. EISENSCHIDT.

M. Freret, Essai sur les Mesures longues des Anciens. Voici un nom qu'on ne doit proférer qu'avec respect. M. Freret ne dément point sa réputation par cet ouvrage. On y voit une érudition sûre qui embrasse toute l'antiquité, une sagacité qui sait concilier les apparences les plus contradictoires, et un esprit systématique qui réunit tant de particules éparses dans un corps bien lié et bien soutenu. FRERET.

*M. de la Barre, sur la Livre Romaine, et sur les Mesures anciennes.** Le rival et le contre-part de M. Freret. Il avoit plus d'affectation que d'art, et plus d'obscurité que de profondeur. Son grand DE LA BARRE.

* Mém. de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres, tom. viii. p. 372. et tom. xix. p. 512.

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défaut est une méthode des plus embarrassées; son grand mérite consiste en quelques idées neuves et hardies.

ARBUTHNOT. *M. Arbuthnot, Table des Poids, des Mesures, et des Monnoies des Anciens, en Anglois.** Auteur sans prétensions mais non sans mérite. Il ne veut point donner les principes, mais son livre peut fournir des détails fort utiles.

HOOPER. *M. l'Evêque Hooper. Inquiry into the State of the Ancient Measures, particularly the Jewish, en Anglois.* L'ouvrage de cet habile homme répand de grandes lumières sur le sujet qu'il traite. Quelquefois trop subtil dans ses recherches il prête aux anciens sa propre exactitude. De la cube d'une mesure longue mal définie, il déduit, souvent sans autorités et par les calculs les plus délicats, leurs poids et leurs mesures creuses. Je lui reprocherois aussi d'avoir corrigé ses auteurs pour se fonder sur ses changemens comme sur leurs propres paroles. Il est singulier que les esprits du premier ordre ayent paru ignorer cette règle fondamentale de la critique.

II.

Nous avons trois choses à rechercher afin de fixer nos idées. 1. *Le rapport des mesures anciennes avec celles de notre pays;* 2. *La proportion de celles de chaque peuple de l'antiquité entr'elles; et* 3. *Leurs parties aliquottes.* Il n'y a que nos yeux et nos instrumens qui puissent nous instruire du premier rapport. Il leur faut des objets sensibles qui

* In 4to. London. 1727.

portent

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portent encore l'empreinte des poids ou des mesures anciennes. Alors le parallèle devient facile et assuré. Si ces monumens étoient assez nombreux pour nous faire connoître toutes ces mesures et tous ces poids, leur proportion réciproque en découleroit d'elle-même. Ce n'est que notre disette qui nous oblige de recourir aux auteurs, et en partant de quelque monument ancien, comme d'un point fixe, de calculer leur valeur positive par leurs rapports mutuels. En suivant cette méthode nous n'avons point à craindre des erreurs grossières, mais il faut aussi renoncer à une exactitude bien poussée. Ces proportions étoient rarement l'ouvrage d'une recherche attentive et éclairée. Etablies par les besoins de la vie, adoptées par l'ignorance, consacrées par le tems, elles se ressentoient de la grossièreté de leur origine. D'ailleurs les anciens (disons-le sans façon) étoient moins exacts que nous. Peu rompus dans le calcul, gênés par la forme incommode de leurs caractères numéraux, ils négligeoient les fractions, et ne rendoient que les nombres entiers. On ne doit pas cependant les confondre dans une même classe. L'imagination enflammée du poëte se refroidera-t-elle par une attention à des objets bas, stériles, et pour elle inutiles. Elle n'en parle jamais, ou si elle en parle, les idées populaires sont les siennes. Les orateurs, et les historiens (plus orateurs que les nôtres) méritent un peu plus d'égard. Leur but les a souvent engagés à s'instruire plus à fond dans ces sujets sans lesquels les affaires publiques et l'histoire ne sont qu'un chaos. Mais ce sont

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ceux, à qui leur intérêt ou leur curiosité ont rendu nécessaires des idées plus approfondies : les arpenteurs, les architectes, les médecins, les mathématiciens, qui ont les droits les plus décidées sur notre confiance. Cependant ceux-ci mêmes doivent s'évanouir à l'approche d'un monument original. Ces auteurs n'avoient que des yeux, nous en avons aussi, et il vaut mieux nous fier aux nôtres qu'aux leurs.

Les parties aliquottes ne peuvent guères souffrir de difficulté. L'autorité les établit, la nation les connoît, et les écrivains ne sauroient varier à leur égard. On ne les verra ordinairement que dans les tables.

III.

Il semble qu'on devroit fixer sans peine les poids des Grecs et des Romains. Ces poids étoient les monnoies. C'étoient autant de divisions exactes de la *mine* et de l'*once*.

M. Greaves, qui avoit examiné plusieurs centaines des *deniers* qui sont encore conservés dans les cabinets d'Italie, les trouvoit généralement du poids de 67 grains Anglois (74½). Le Père Bouteroue en pesa depuis qui alloient à 75 grains, et puisque le tems et la cupidité des hommes diminue le poids des monnoies plutôt qu'ils n'y ajoutent, on doit toujours s'en tenir à la plus forte évaluation comme à celle qui nous est parvenue avec la moindre altération.

L'once Romaine étoit composée de *sept deniers*. Les

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Les Romains les plus éclairés, Celse, qui vivoit du tems de Tibère,* Pline, pour qui l'antiquité Romaine n'avoit rien d'inconnue, sont ceux qui nous en assurent. L'once doit donc peser 525 grains.

On a voulu conjecturer que le *premier denier Consulaire* n'étoit que la sixième partie de l'once. Lorsqu'on m'en produira de nouvelles preuves, l'on m'y trouvera docile; car les passages dont on a voulu s'appuyer me paroissent des plus vagues et des plus équivoques.

Mais quoiqu'il en soit de ce grand denier, il est constant qu'il y en a eu de plus légers que le septième de l'once. Pline nous apprend qu'on commençoit à diminuer ce poids.† On s'y prenoit insensiblement et comme à la dérobée. Peu-à-peu le denier n'étoit plus que la huitième partie de l'once. Le consentement des anciens ne permet pas d'en douter.

On a conclu avec beaucoup de vraisemblance que les Romains, à l'imitation des Grecs, avoient fait leur monnoie d'or, leur *aureus*, le double du denier quant à son poids. Comme il s'est conservé beaucoup de ces *aurei*, nous en tirerons des inductions fort utiles. Le premier établissement des *aurei* étoit de quarante à la livre. Les plus pesans que nous connoissons sont de 124½ grains An-

* Sed et antea sciri volo in unciâ pondus denariorum esse septem. Cels. l. xv. c. 17.

† Miscuit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum; alii e pondere substrahunt cum sit justum octoginta quatuor e libris signari.— Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. c. 9.

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glois (147$\frac{3}{4}$.) On prévient ma conclûsion; ces *aurei* étoient le double des deniers les septièmes de l'once. Du tems de Vespasien et de ses successeurs, nous trouvons des *aurei* de 108, 110, et 114 grains Anglois. Les deniers doivent être alors de 54, 55, et 57 grains. Le premier de ces nombres nous donne le huitième de l'once. Depuis le règne de Gordien, les empereurs, ou plutôt les tyrans ses successeurs, avilirent de plus en plus la gloire et les monnoies des Romains. Probus, qui paroît comme restaurateur de l'empire dans les historiens aussi bien que sur les médailles, voulut les relever. Elles retombèrent après sa mort. Si nous prenons le poids moyen des *aurei* depuis Gallus à Heraclius nous aurons 68 grains Anglois. Celui du *denier* seroit de 34 (40$\frac{1}{2}$) un peu plus de la moitié de l'ancien denier, et pas la troizième partie de l'once. J'ai peine à croire cependant que le *denier*, *comme poids*, ait suivi toute la bizarrerie de ces révolutions. Les auteurs paroissent n'en avoir connu que deux. Il étoit le septième de l'once. Il en fut ensuite le huitième. Il perdit peu après son égalité avec le *denier monnoie*, demeurant fixe pendant que celui-ci changeoit d'un jour à l'autre. Il en a été ainsi dans tous les pays de l'Europe. Du tems de Charlemagne une livre de compte valoit une livre pesante d'argent, aujourd'hui elle n'en vaut pas la centième partie.

Douze onces faisoient *la livre Romaine.* La belle occasion d'étaler de l'érudition, puisque la chose est des plus claires et des mieux connues. Un savant du siècle passé ne l'eût pas négligée.

Je

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Je me contenterai de dire qu'une telle livre seroit de 6300 *grains*, ou de 10 *onces* 540 *grains*.

Le talent étoit composé de *soixante mines*. Tous les talens, très différens les uns des autres, gardoient cependant la même proportion entr'eux. Le talent pesera *cinquante-deux livres et* 528 *grains*.

Les historiens nous ont conservé ce traité orgueilleux que les Romains firent signer à Antiochus. On lui impose un grand tribut qu'il doit payer en talens Attiques. On stipule que le talent pesera 80 *livres Romaines*. Nous aurons un talent de 54 *livres onze onces*. La différence est d'*une livre et environ dix onces*. Je conçois que les Romains, aussi éclairés sur leurs intérêts que les Germains, préférèrent les vieilles espèces comme les plus pesantes, mais la hauteur, la franchise de leur conduite envers Antiochus n'auroit jamais pu descendre à une supercherie de banquier. Il a donc dû exister un talent Attique du poids de quatre-vingt livres Romaines. Sa drachme de 84 grains me paroît même la drachme de Solon, quoiqu'elle perdit un peu de son poids dans les tems les plus reculés.

Le commerce et l'empire d'Athènes donna un grand cours à ses poids et monnoies, et l'on convient que lorsqu'il est parlé de talens ou de drachmes, sans autre désignation exprimée ou impliquée, c'est toujours de celles de l'Attique qu'il faut l'entendre. Elles n'étoient cependant pas les plus anciennes. Trois cens ans avant Solon, Phidon, tyran d'Egine et d'Argos, de la postérité d'Hercule, régla les poids du Péloponnèse et le premier fit

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fit battre de la monnoie.* Comme elle étoit unique alors, elle eut beaucoup de réputation. Les Athéniens mêmes s'en servoient en la méprisant. La *drachme d'Egine* étoit la paye qu'on donnoit par jour à un cavalier. Elle valoit dix de ces oboles dont la drachme Attique contenoit six. Le *talent d'Egine* pesoit *quatre-vingt cinq livres, onze onces et* 304 *grains*, et sa drachme 131⅓ grains. Le poids des *tetradrachmes* qu'on frappoit dans cette île sera de 526⅔. Voici pourquoi j'ai rapporté cette dernière valeur. Il n'est guères possible de s'amuser beaucoup à ces discussions, sans sacrifier quelquefois à ce goût de conjecture, la plus douce récompense de ses travaux. En considérant les poids Romains, leur état isolé me surprit; est-il possible, me dis-je à moi-même, que ce peuple, ramas de cent autres peuples, n'ait emprunté les mesures d'aucun que nous connoissons? Les nations dont le sang toujours pûr a coulé sans mélange étranger n'ont pas dédaigné ce commerce, si propre à fixer leurs idées chancelantes qui ne savoient où s'arrêter. La connoissance de la tetradrachme d'Egine me les rappela ces réflexions plus vivement. Son égalité avec l'*once Romaine* à un *trois centième près*, me

* Φειδωνος τω Αργειων τυραννω, τω τα μετρα ποιησαντος Πελοποννησιοισι και υβρισαντος μεγιστα δη Ελληνων απαντων, ος εξανεστησας τους Ηλειων αγωνοθετας, αυτος τ' εν Ολυμπιη αγαινα εθηκε. *Herodot. l. vi. c.* 127.

Φειδων Αργος κρατων μετρα μαι γαθμα πρωτος εφευρεν. *Euseb. n.* 1217.

Φειδων ο Αργειος νομισμα αργυρεν εν τη Αιγινη εποιησεν. *Marmora Arundel.*

Mensuras et pondera Phidon Argivus, aut Palamedes, ut maluit Gellius. *Plin. l. vii. c.* 56.

parut

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parut trop précise pour la rejetter sur le hasard. Je me confirmerois dans cette idée, en examinant les canaux par lesquels ce poids a pu pénétrer jusqu'à Rome. Ils sont tout ouverts. Quelques années après que Phidon eut reglé les poids du Pélopon nèse, une colonie de Lacedémoniens passa dans le pays des Sabins. Rien ne relève autant nos idées de la discipline de Lycurgue que cette migration. Ces exilés aimèrent mieux s'expatrier que de s'y soumettre, et cependant s'il parut des Sybarites à Sparta ils semblèrent des Spartiates à Cures. Les mœurs dures et austères qu'ils communiquèrent aux Sabins furent longtems l'admiration des Romains. L'union de ces deux derniers peuples fut étroite dès le commencement. Tatius et ses Sabins s'encorporèrent aux Romains de Romulus. Si l'on trouve ce règne trop guerrier pour des arrangemens de police, Numa, son successeur, prince pacifique et Sabin, doit avoir réglé les poids, et s'il l'a fait, quel modèle a-t-il pu suivre que celui de sa patrie?

Passons à la Palestine, petit pays, mais plus connu que les vastes contrées de la Tartarie. Cette course paroît un écart, mais il ne l'est point. Le premier peuple que nous trouvons sur ses côtes, ce sont les Phéniciens, dont le commerce et les colonies remplissoient toutes les mers depuis les Indes jusqu'au delà des colonnes d'Hercule, et rendoient Tyr et Sidon les entrepôts de l'univers. Nous devons nous attendre à trouver partout les vestiges de leurs poids. Un peuple de guerriers peut mépriser ces détails, mais une nation de commerçans en sentira le prix, et travaillera à les établir partout.

Le

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Le talent *Tyrien* étoit ou *double* ou *simple*, celui-là composé de 12,000 *drachmes*, celui-ci de 6000. Hiéron, auteur estimé, et qui mérite de l'être, égale le *talent Attique* à *celui de Tyr*, et nous donne à connoître que c'étoit au simple; *la drachme de la Phénicie* aura le même poids que celui d'Athènes. Il est assez vraisemblable que Solon, lui-même négociant, avoit cherché dans sa réforme des poids la plus grande facilité du commerce.

Il n'y a point de difficulté à supposer que Solon reçut ses poids des Phéniciens, dont il voyoit les vaisseaux tous les jours dans le port d'Athènes. Mais si l'on trouve ce trajet encore trop long, on peut croire qu'il les reçut en droiture de l'île d'Eubée, voisine de l'Attique, et dont elle tiroit beaucoup de bled. Tout au moins nous engage à croire que le *talent d'Athènes*, *celui de l'Eubée*, et *le talent simple de Tyr*, étoient tous les trois égaux. Car premièrement, lorsque Darius changea les dons gratuits de ses sujets en tributs réglés, il statua qu'ils payeroient l'argent en *talens Babyloniens*, et l'or en *talens de l'île d'Eubée*.* Pourquoi ce choix singulier? Un roi de France a-t-il jamais fait payer la taille en argent de Suisse? L'Eubée étoit peu connue dans le monde; bien loin d'être sujette à Darius, elle lui étoit ennemie. Encore une fois, pourquoi ce choix? Ce ne peut être que le talent de quelque province de l'empire de Darius, talent célèbre, mais qu'Hérodote a mieux aimé exprimer par un talent Grec qui lui étoit

* Herodot. l. iii. c. 95.

égal.

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égal. Cette province ne pouvoit être la Babylone. L'Egypte commerçoit trop peu avec l'étranger pour qu'on préférât ses poids. La Lydie auroit de grandes prétensions. Le Pactole rendoit son or célèbre; c'étoit même l'or du darique. Mais Hérodote avoit trop bien fait connoître la Lydie pour craindre l'obscurité en la nommant ici. D'ailleurs qu'elle liaison entre la Lydie et l'Eubée? Il y en avoit beaucoup entre cette île et la Phénicie. Cadmus l'avoit côtoyé et s'étoit établi dans son voisinage. Palamède, dont les inventions valurent plus à la Grèce, que la valeur de cet écervelé Achille, étoit natif de cette île. Il emprunta ses lettres de la Phénicie, pourquoi pas ses poids? II^ment. Les anciens ne frappoient de monnoies, surtout celles d'or, qui ne fussent quelque partie aliquotte de la livre du talent. *Le darique*, égal à l'*aureus* d'Athènes, étoit la trois millième partie d'un talent d'or Attique. Cependant les rois de Perse n'ont jamais emprunté leur monnoie favorite d'une petite république. Si le talent d'Athènes étoit celui de Tyr, il n'y a plus de difficulté. Ce n'est pas une preuve, mais c'est au moins un préjugé favorable. III^ment. Le talent d'Athènes étoit égal à celui de Tyr. Nous venons de le voir chez Hiéron. *Soixante-dix mines Attiques* faisoient le *talent Babylonien.* Pollux nous l'apprend. *Soixante-dix mines Euboïques* faisoient le même *talent Babylonien* suivant Hérodote; la conséquence est toute simple.

On seroit surpris que les Juifs eussent d'autres poids que ceux de leurs voisins, ceux de la Phénicie

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nicie surtout. Grossiers et ignorans ils devoient tout aux autres peuples, et ne leur rendoient qu'un vrai mépris de barbares. Josèphe, Philon, et les Septante, tous instruits dans les usages de leur nation, et plus en état que leurs concitoyens d'en faire la comparaison avec ceux des étrangers, égalent tous le *shekel* des Hébreux à la *tetradrachme Attique*, ou à *la didrachme d'Alexandrie*. Trois mille shekels faisoient le *talent Juif*, qui ainsi étoit égal à 12,000 drachmes Attiques ou Tyriennes, c'est à dire au *talent double de Tyr*. M. Hooper, toujours profond, a voulu examiner l'évaluation de Maimonides, il l'a trouvée n'être pas fort éloignée de celle de Josèphe; et même il est parvenu à rendre raison de cette différence. Mais il faut voir tout ce morceau, qui est un chef-d'œuvre de la critique, dans l'ouvrage du savant évêque.

Ces poids ont-ils toujours été les mêmes? Les rabbins prétendent que pendant la captivité, ils empruntèrent ceux des Babyloniens plus pesans que les leurs d'un sixième. Cette adoption paroît naturelle, nous verrons qu'elle a eu lieu pour les mesures. Mais comme Josèphe, Philon et les Septante, ne l'ont point connue, le témoignage de quelques rabbins postérieurs de cinq ou six cens ans, et justement décriés pour leurs critiques, ne peut point leur être opposé.

Tout ce qu'on peut alléguer en faveur du sentiment des rabbins, ce sont quelques *shekels* conservés, dont le poids est égal à 219 *grains Anglois* (258½), un peu moins d'une demie-once Romaine. Mais ces pièces sont renvoyées par les savans aux der-

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derniers tems de la nation Juive. Alors comme leur tribut aux Romains se payoit en shekels, il étoit de leur intérêt d'en baisser le poids, et rien ne seroit autant la pillule aux yeux de leurs maîtres, que de leur faire croire qu'ils rétablissoient le shekel de leurs anciens rois, shekel dont le poids étoit précisément la demie-once Romaine. Il n'en falloit pas davantage à un antiquaire pour faire sortir les deux nations d'une même souche. Telle est la conjecture de M. Hooper. Elle est ingénieuse. Mais je doute que les Romains se fussent si fort enorgueillis de cette parenté.*

Lorsqu'Alexandre jetta les fondemens d'Alexandrie il se proposoit d'y transporter tout le commerce du monde. Il vouloit la mettre à la place de Tyr qu'il venoit de détruire. Pour que les nations ne s'apperçussent d'autre changement que de celui du lieu, il étoit naturel qu'il n'altérât point les poids de l'ancien entrepôt. Il ne le fit point. *Le talent d'Alexandrie* contenoit deux fois celui d'Athènes et étoit égal au double talent de Tyr.

On verra dans les tables quelques autres talens moins connus, le Corinthien, le Rhodien, le Syrien, &c. Je ne parlerai pas encore des talens d'Homère.

* Ecoutons Cicéron; que cet orateur nous instruise des sentimens des Romains à l'égard de ce peuple choisi. " Stantibus Hierosolymis, pacatisque Judæis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis, abhorrebat. Nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis: quam cara Diis immortalibus esset ostendit armis, quòd est victa, quòd elocata, quòd servata." *Cicero pro Flacco, c. 28.*

Peut-

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Peut-être ne seroit-il pas difficile d'étendre ses conquêtes, et en rassemblant les passages épars des voyageurs et des missionnaires, de fixer les poids des Turcs, des Arabes, des Persans, des Indiens, des Chinois, des Japponois, &c. mais à quoi aboutiroit cette connoissance? Attendons que les travaux de nos savans ayent enrichi la littérature des écrits de ces peuples. Alors cette connoissance deviendra nécessaire. Aujourd'hui elle seroit pénible et sans fruit.

Arrêtons-nous un moment. Quelques centaines de monumens, et deux proportions des plus simples, nous ont conduits à la connoissance de la livre Romaine. Comparons-la avec quelques livres de fer qui nous sont demeurées. La plûpart sont fort endommagées. Des deux les plus entières on déduiroit *une livre de* 10 *onces* 408 *grains*. La différence est de 132 grains. Elle ne m'étonne point. Ces livres, quoique les moins rongées, devoient néanmoins avoir perdu de leur poids.

Le conge Farnèse est célèbre parmi les antiquaires. Je ne le suis point assez pour croire qu'une providence toute particulière a veillé à sa conservation; je sais seulement qu'il existe à Rome dans le palais des Ducs de Parme. Une inscription gravée sur le dehors nous apprend qu'il contenoit le poids de dix livres, et les anciens sont d'accord que c'étoit dix livres d'eau ou de vin pur. M. Auzout de l'Académie des Sciences l'ayant rempli d'eau de fontaine, trouva pour le poids de sa capacité, 62,760 grains. *La livre Romaine en aura*

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aura 6276 et l'once 523. Cet accord, $\frac{1}{180}$ à près, avec la livre trouvée par les deniers, doit faire évanouir le moindre soupçon. S'il valoit la peine de choisir entre les deux livres, je préférerois celle des *deniers*. L'opération est plus simple.

On vient de voir un système clair et suivi. Il n'est fondé que sur les monumens, combinés avec les écrivains du bon tems. Ceux du Bas Empire, Fannius, Dioscorides, Galien, &c. nous égareroient, si nous les prenions pour nos guides. Ils établissent pour fondement de leurs hypothèses, l'égalité du denier non-seulement avec la drachme de leurs jours mais encore avec celle du tems de Solon. Il est de fait que ces deux poids différoient au moins d'un treizième. D'ailleurs ces auteurs, moitié Grecs moitié Romains, altèrent les coutumes des deux nations en tachant de les concilier, et se plaignent alors des ténèbres dont ils se sont enveloppées.* A tout moment ils se répètent, ils se contredisent les uns les autres, et eux-mêmes; et vous sentez à chaque ligne qu'ils n'ont jamais consulté les meilleurs de tous les livres, les étalons des poids. On a été assez bon pour chercher les raisons de leur égarement, et pour leur prêter des interprétations qu'ils ne méritent point, et dont ils sont assez peu susceptibles.†

IV.

* Dioscorides dit que le conge pesoit sept cens vingt drachmes. Nous savons qu'il tenoit au moins huit cens quarante deniers; cependant un moment auparavant il avoit égalé la drachme au denier.

† M. Hooper adopte une idée de M. Greaves qui pense que lorsque ces écrivains parlent de la drachme comme le huitième

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IV.

Les Grecs furent longtems un peuple sans commerce et sans police; occupés de leurs guerres, ou plutôt de leurs brigandages, ils négligeoient tous les arts. Un tel peuple devoit se soucier assez peu de précision dans les poids qui ne sont que les moyens du commerce. Aussi seroit-il difficile de les apprécier au juste.

Solon, le premier des législateurs en grand, car Lycurgue ne fit attention qu'à un seul objet, la discipline militaire; ce Solon, dis-je, trouvant l'état d'Athènes obéré de dettes, baissa les poids et les espèces d'un quart. Cette raison a pu l'y engager; mais je ferai voir dans la suite qu'elle n'a pas dû être la seule.

Il n'existe qu'une seule *drachme*, le poids de la Grèce sur laquelle tous les autres se régloient; M. Greaves l'avoit trouvée dans la Mer Noir: elle pesoit 66 *grains Anglois* (78½).

Nos principes cependant seroient mal-appuyés, si nous n'avions qu'une seule ressource. Dans la critique comme dans la physique, une seule expérience ne doit jamais suffire. Mille causes étrangères peuvent s'y mêler, dont la moindre, en corrompant sa pureté, nous égareroit dans notre recherche.

de l'once, ils n'entendent point l'once Romaine, mais une once que les Athéniens composèrent à l'imitation de leurs maîtres. Mais ce système ne les sauve point. Si la drachme suivit les révolutions du denier, pourquoi l'ont-ils ignorée? Si elle ne les a pas suivies, pourquoi les égaler?

Heureusement

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Heureusement pour nous les Grecs frappoient des *tetradrachmes*, ou des pièces de quatre drachmes. M. Greaves en vit beaucoup dans son voyage de l'orient. Il s'attachoit sur-tout à ceux qu'il déterroit dans des lieux écartés où la curiosité des Européens n'avoit pas encore enseigné la mauvaise foi et l'imposture.* Ceux qui paroissoient les plus parfaits s'accordoient à lui donner 268 *grains Anglois (316).* Nous avons donc une *drachme de 67 grains Anglois (79).* Une demie-drachme et un obole ne font qu'appuyer ce résultat.

Nous avons soupçonné que la monnoie d'or des Romains pesoit deux de leurs deniers. Nous savons que chez les Grecs elles pesoient deux drachmes Attiques. Pollux† et Hesychius‡ en sont mes garans. Je ne dis rien des *dariques.* M. Greaves n'en avoit jamais vu, et quoique M. l'Abbé Barthelemi m'apprend le titre d'une de ces monnoies conservée dans le cabinet du roi, il ne dit rien du poids. *Une monnoie d'or de Philippe* pèse, suivant Snellius, 134½ grains Anglois, (159) et *une autre d'Alexandre* 133½ *grains Anglois* (158.) La drachme de celli-ci est de 79 grains, de celle-là d'environ 79½. Qu'un Anglois donc se tienne assuré que la *drachme de Solon* étoit de 67 *grains;* qu'un François l'appreçie à 73 *grains.*§

* Greaves's Miscellanies. Tom. i. p. 261.

† ὁ δὲ χρυσους γαστης δυο εἰχε δραχμας Ατθικας. L. iv. c. 24.

‡ Πολεμαρχος φησι δυνασθαι τον χρυσουν παρα τοις Αττικοις δραχμας δυο. τινὲς δὲ τὸ χρυσοῦ δραχμην, νομισματος αργυρου δραχμας δεκα. *Hesych. in voce* Χρυσους.

§ Histoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. Tom. xxi. p. 24.

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Dans les tems postérieurs les drachmes perdirent de leur poids. Ils devinrent égales aux deniers. Il n'éxiste point de ces *drachmes nouvelles* qu'on à pu commencer à frapper vers l'an deux cent cinquante avant Jésus Christ, et cette perte, qui n'étoit point singulière, vu le petit nombre de ces espèces qui nous est parvenu, a fait soupçonner à MM. Greaves et Eisenschidt* que cette égalité n'existoit point, ou du moins qu'elle n'étoit qu'une égalité arbitraire et d'échange.† Les témoignages qui l'établissent me paroissent néanmoins des plus décisifs. Celse, dont on connoît l'habileté, la donne d'une manière à faire voir qu'il les avoit comparés avec toute cette exactitude si nécessaire et si peu commune, dans les opérations délicates de la médecine.‡ Pline§ et Galien‖ l'appuyent sans paroître le suivre. Je ne parle point de tous les histori-

* M. Eisenschidt produit une tétradrachme de 333 grains. La drachme en auroit 83¼. Mais cette évaluation s'écarte trop de toutes les autres. Peut-être qu'à l'occasion de quelque grand événement on avoit frappé des drachmes plus pesantes. Peut-être aussi qu'on vouloit les ramener à leur ancien poids. *V. Eisenschidt*, p. 42.

† V. Greaves's Miscellanies, tom. i. p. 285. Eisenschidt de Ponderibus Veterum, p. 44.

‡ Unius inde denarii pondus dividi a me in partes sex *(sciri volo)*, ut idem in uncia denarii habeam, quod Græci habeant in eo quem Οβολον appellant, id autem ad nostra pondera relatum paullo plus dimidio scrupulo facit. *Cels.* L. v. c. 15.

§ Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus. *Plin.* L. xxi. c. 34.

‖ Προδηλον οτι δραχμην λεγομεν νυν αι τους φωντους φασιντες, οπερ Ρωμαιοι δηναριον ονομαξουσιν. *Galen.* L. viii. de Composit. Medicament.

ens.

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ens. Leur noms grossiroient la nuée des témoins, sous y ajouter beaucoup d'évidence. Nous pouvons conclure aussi que la drachme Attique a suivi le sort du denier Romain, et qu'il est devenu la huitième partie de l'once Romaine vers le tems de Vespasien. Nous pouvons le conclure puisque les écrivains tiennent toujours le même langage par rapport à leur égalité.

Cent drachmes faisoient la *mine.* Elle pesoit donc *treize onces et* 412 *grains.* Le savant M. Hooper prétend deviner la mine par une voie assez détournée. La cube de la *spithame Grecque* lui a donné une mine assez peu éloignée de la nôtre.* Mais de qui a-t-il appris la liaison de la spithame et de la mine? De personne.

V.

Jusqu'ici nos idées ont été simples: des objets matériels jugés sur le rapport de nos sens. A présent il nous faut suivre et décomposer toutes ces combinaisons que l'imagination des hommes, guidée par leur intérêt, leur a suggérées. "Etablissez," leur a-t-elle dit, " *un instrument commun du commerce.* N'échangez plus le bled contre la laine; mais échangez le bled et la laine contre cet instrument qui devra son prix à votre consentement mutuel. Un seul de ces instrumens ne vous suffira point. Celui du commerce en gros seroit peu susceptible de division dans les menus détails; et la mesure de ceux-ci rebuteroit le commerçant en gros par son

* 6840 grains Anglois, (8080). *V. Hooper*, p. 49.

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poids incommode. Fouillez dans les entrailles de la terre. Elles vous fourniront des minéraux assez maniables, assez rares et assez durables pour devenir cet instrument que vous cherchez." De là est née la valeur de l'*or* et de l'*argent*, valeur d'institution que Pline a eu tort d'envisager comme la racine de tous les vices. L'avarice, l'injustice, l'usure n'ont jamais plus désolé la société que parmi les premiers Romains. L'objet de leur cupidité étoit dix livres d'airain ou un troupeau de bœufs: celui de leur postérité mille livres d'or. Voilà toute la différence.

Le prix de toute marchandise dépend de deux choses; *de sa rareté*, et *du besoin réel ou imaginaire qu'on en a.* La dernière de ces causes n'a jamais pu influer sur le prix de l'or et de l'argent. Avides de ces métaux précieux, les hommes se sont toujours persuadés que l'abondance, les plaisirs, et les arts marchoient à leur suite. C'est pourquoi, comme je ne pourrois attribuer la pauvreté d'un peuple à sa philosophie, je conclurois hardiment, qu'il étoit destitué d'industrie, qu'il ne savoit ni travailler ses mines, ni s'ouvrir des mines encore plus intarissables par son commerce et ses manufactures. Cependant quoique cette erreur populaire nous serve de guide dans l'histoire, c'est toujours une erreur. Si la quantité d'or et d'argent dans un pays augmente de dix fois, toutes les commodités de la vie hausseront d'autant, et ce peuple se trouvera dans le même état qu'auparavant. Ce n'est pas que les princes ayent tort de s'intéresser un peu à cette richesse numéraire. Un particulier

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particulier est riche par la proportion de ses revenus avec ceux de ses concitoyens. Une société s'est comparée à ses voisins, et dans les conjonctures où leurs intérêts réciproques les unissent ou les divisent, les trésors tiendront souvent lieu de forces. Ils soudoyeront les troupes des nations plus belliqueuses et plus pauvres. Leurs possesseurs s'en serviront dans leurs guerres et dans leurs négociations. Ces dépenses, il est vrai, feront sortir cet argent de leur pays, et les réduiront bientôt au niveau de leurs voisins: mais aussi s'ils ont su profiter du moment de leur supériorité ils sont devenus leurs maîtres. Je ne connois que la Chine qui ait fermée ses mines d'argent. La raison en est sensible, et fait l'éloge de ce peuple de législateurs. Isolée dans l'univers, la Chine ignore la richesse relative et le commerce étranger. L'augmentation ou la diminution des métaux n'intéressent nullement le commerce intérieur et les arts.

On compare l'or et l'argent avec les objets de sa dépense. On les compare encore entr'eux, pour fixer leur valeur proportionnelle. En Angleterre et en Espagne, cette proportion est *d'un à quinze.* En France et dans le reste de l'Europe *d'un à quatorze et demi.* Parmi les anciens la proportion la plus commune étoit celle *d'un à un.* Ces variations arrêtent, dès le premier pas, quiconque veut fixer les monnoies des anciens d'une manière raisonnée. Nous exprimons le prix de toutes les marchandises par une quantité déterminée d'or ou d'argent. Comment exprimerons-nous la valeur de ces minéraux? La déduire de leur proportion, n'est qu'un cercle

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vicieux qui n'instruit point. Prendrons-nous l'expression de cette valeur comme elle est fixée parmi nous? Ce seront au moins des idées connues. Mais alors de quel point doit-on partir? Si nous prenons l'or, l'argent calculé en proportion décimale vaudra plus que chez nous. Si c'est l'argent, l'or vaudra moins. En un mot l'argent étoit-il plus rare chez les anciens, ou l'or étoit-il plus commun que chez nous? Dans l'incertitude il faudroit se déterminer pour l'argent; et le compter au taux qui a lieu parmi nous. Ce métal a toujours entré dans le commerce comme moyen principal, pendant que l'or n'a souvent été considéré que comme une marchandise précieuse. Mais j'aimerois encore mieux embrasser ce parti par raison que par nécessité. Le champ est vaste, nos connoissances légères; la comparaison ne peut être que vague; cependant, je ne crains pas de l'ébaucher. 1. L'Afrique doit renfermer dans son sein des trésors immenses. Le pays le plus fécond en or que nous connoissons, c'est la Guinée. Mais enfin la jalousie des natifs nous a interdit l'approche des mines; nous recueillons dans les rivières et sur le bord de la mer les paillettes d'or que les torrens des montagnes ont entrainées dans leur course. Nous y puisons des richesses immenses. Les anciens ignoroient cette côte, mais sur celle de Sofala à l'orient de l'Afrique, ils avoient des mines aujourd'hui perdues ou épuisées. Salomon, roi des Juifs, en tira dans une seule année 666 talens d'or. Un poëte eût dit de l'ancienne Arabie qu'elle n'étoit qu'un morceau d'or massif. Un historien exact

nous

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nous apprend que l'or y étoit commun à un tel point, qu'il étoit à l'argent comme deux à un, et comme trois à un au fer. Mais l'Amérique—ne devons-nous pas nos vices et nos richesses à Colomb? Il est vrai: tous les autres pays doivent le céder au nouveau monde pour les mines d'argent; mais pour celles d'or l'Afrique l'emporte de beaucoup. Tel est au moins le sentiment d'Acoste, observateur savant et laborieux. Acoste vécut avant la découverte des mines du Brésil, mais celles-ci l'ont été depuis trop peu de tems, pour avoir encore changé le système des espèces en Europe. Si nous arrêtons la vue sur les extrémités de l'orient nous verrons que l'Inde enrichissoit les anciens, autant qu'elle nous appauvrit. Les Persans et les Grecs de la Bactriane, par les conquêtes et par le commerce, s'attiroient les trésors que la nature avoit prodigués à ses foibles habitans. Ces nations voisines avoient des besoins mutuels, et les espèces passoient chez la plus industrieuse. Ce commerce maritime si lucratif à quelques uns, mais si fatal à nos richesses, n'a commencé que sous les Ptolémées; les Romains en ont senti les effets; mais les poisons lents ne détruisent le tempérament que peu-à-peu; le nôtre le seroit déjà, si le midi et l'occident ne réparoient pas en partie ce que l'orient engloutit.

A juger sur cet exposé, les avantages paroissent balancés; on décideroit volontiers que nous recevons plus d'or et que les anciens dépensoient moins. Mais nous avons oublié une circonstance qui fait pencher la balance de leur côté. Dans le travail ingrat et difficile des mines, ce n'est point la

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la même chose de les aller chercher sous un ciel étranger ou chez un peuple barbare, et de les posséder au cœur de sa patrie. Nos climats étoient autrefois remplis d'or. La terre, les rivières nous en prodiguoient à pleines mains. A présent nous n'en avons point. Le Tage n'est plus un fleuve d'or que pour les poëtes. Nous chercherions vainement en Espagne et en France ces mines dont les Lusitaniens et les Astures tiroient chaque année vingt mille livres d'or, et qui remplirent le trésor sacré de Thoulouse de cent mille livres d'or. Une seule mine dans la Dalmatie rendoit jour par jour cinquante livres d'or, ou par année dix-huit mille deux cens cinquante. Le seul travail de quelques mines en Lydie avoit valu à Pythias quatre millions de dariques. La magnificence des anciens en ouvrages d'or est encore une preuve de leur richesse. Je n'en donnerai qu'un exemple; je le puise chez Diodore de Sicile, dont on n'a jamais soupçonné ni le jugement ni la fidélité. Dans une tour du temple de Belus à Babylone, l'on voyoit les statues de Jupiter, de Junon, et de Rhéé avec un grand attirail, le tout d'or massif, et du poids de 6360 talens Babyloniens, ou de trois cens quatre-vingt-un mille six cens livres pesantes.* Ces trésors, et tant d'autres enfouis depuis dans ce

* Voyez la description détaillée de ces trésors chez Diodore de Sicile, l. ii. c. 9. Les 6360 talens d'or font, suivant la proportion ancienne, 16,204,900*l.* monnoie d'Angleterre, ou 381,600,000*l.* argent de France. Suivant les proportions modernes ce seroit 24,307,350*l.* de celle-là, et 553,320,000*l.* de celui-ci.

temple

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temple depuis bien des siècles, sortirent enfin pour animer la circulation. Xerxes, à son retour de la Grèce, enleva toutes ces offrandes, et par un revers moins étrange chez les anciens que chez nous, la société s'enrichit au dépens de la superstition : car les anciens, peu conséquens dans leurs dévotions, élevoient des temples d'une main et les pilloïent de l'autre. Plus d'un riche dans l'antiquité eût pu répondre avec le vétéran d'Auguste, " Seigneur, vous voyez ma fortune, elle étoit autrefois la jambe de la Déesse Anaitis."

II. Envisageons les richesses des anciens sous un autre point de vue, nous nous affermirons dans nos premiers sentimens. Si la différence de la proportion venoit de la rareté d'argent parmi eux, nous sommes plus riches d'or d'un tiers; si la grande quantité d'or y donnoit lieu, les anciens l'étoient d'autant. Un homme instruit dans l'antiquité adoptera sans balancer la dernière des alternatives, et c'est avec plaisir que je vois les idées du savant Prideaux si conformes aux miennes.* Parcourons

* Peut-être que quelqu'un, frappé des sommes dont je vais parler, croira que sans choix et sans critique, j'ai ramassé tout ce qui pouvoit rélever les richesses de l'antiquité : il se tromperoit. Lorsque dans les grands empires, dans les pays riches par le commerce ou par les mines, je vois des trésors immenses, j'aime mieux expliquer mes auteurs que de les contredire. Mais le trésorier même de David ne me persuaderoit jamais que son maître enleva des villages des Philistins et des Moabites cent mille talens d'or et un million de talens d'argent (870,000,000 livres sterling); et l'autorité d'un Zonare, Grec du Bas Empire, ne m'engageroit jamais à croire que le trésor de Constantinople renfermoit 200,000 talens d'or (502,600,000 livres sterling.)

quel-

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quelques exemples qui nous fassent sentir combien il avoit raison. Les richesses que Kouli-Khan trouva dans les Indes, ce gouffre de notre argent, n'approchoient point de celles que Cyrus, vainqueur de l'Asie et le prince le plus généreux de son tems, emporta des pays conquis; celles-ci montoient à trente-trois mille livres d'or et à cinq cens mille talens d'argent, sans compter des pierreries et des meubles précieux d'une valeur immense. Ses successeurs imitèrent sa magnificence mieux que ses vertus. Alexandre trouva dans les trésors de la Perse cent quatre-vingt mille talens. Son père avoit joui d'un revenu de mille talens; lui, à sa mort, en tiroit de son empire trois cens mille. Avant les conquêtes de Pompée, il y avoit dans le trésor de Rome, un million neuf cens vingt mille huit cens vingt-neuf livres pesantes d'or. Antoine tira dans une seule année deux cens mille talens de cette Asie déjà épuisée par les exactions de Brutus et de Cassius. Je ne m'arrêterois point aux fortunes des particuliers. L'argent peut être plus rassemblé sans être plus commun. Mais le prix des marchandises est plus décisif. Les instrumens du luxe étoient fort chers. Les Rhodiens achetèrent d'Appelle un portrait d'Alexandre peint en Jupiter pour vingt talens d'or. Un autre peintre refusa soixante talens pour un de ses tableaux. Le cheval Bucéphale en coûta treize à Philippe, et Daphnis le grammairien fut vendu pour sept cens mille sesterces. Mais il vaut mieux aller droit à la plus sûre épreuve, au prix du bled, denrée également nécessaire à tous les hommes. M. Arbuthnot,

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not, par une induction claire mais ingénieuse, l'a trouvé considérablement plus cher à Rome du tems de Pline qu'il n'est aujourd'hui à Londres.

III. Posons un rapport établi. Les deux membres de la proportion s'approchent quand le plus haut descend ou que le plus bas monte; ils s'éloignent quand le plus haut monte ou que le plus bas descend. Rendez l'or plus commun ou l'argent plus rare, vous diminuez leur proportion; multipliez l'argent, ou rendez l'or plus rare, vous l'augmentez cette proportion. La proportion étoit changée sous le règne de Justinien au cinquième siècle après Jésus Christ. Son époque nous dévoilera le motif qui la produisit, et la raison de cette révolution nous instruira de la constitution primitive. Le rapport de deux métaux passa d'un à dix à un à quatorze et deux-tiers, rapport qui subsista jusqu'à notre tems avec peu de variation. Ce changement n'a point découlé de l'augmentation d'argent dans l'empire. Les barbares du nord et de l'orient, depuis un siècle, désoloient les provinces, éteignoient le commerce et l'industrie, et laissoient perdre les mines. Celles d'Espagne, les plus riches de toutes, disparurent à la conquête des Visigoths. Nous découvrons donc que la disette d'or a dû faire naître ce changement. Il n'y a point de troisième parti. L'or étoit donc plus commun avant l'établissement de ce rapport, qui subsiste encore, qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui.

Nos recherches sont assez exactes; cependant toutes, mais surtout la dernière, n'excluent point l'hypothèse. L'or étoit plus commun autrefois, mais

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mais l'étoit-il précisément d'un tiers? Les causes délicates qui peuvent agir à notre insçu m'empêchent de répondre.

VI.

Nous venons de voir des métaux tirés du sein de la terre, pour acquérir une valeur qu'ils n'avoient point auparavant. Les combinaisons de cette valeur avec leurs proportions mutuelles sont des idées trop déliées pour ne pas souvent nous échapper. Des arrangemens ordonnés pour le bien de la société viennent encore épaisser le nuage. On a craint que dans ce commerce difficile la bonne-foi ne fût à tout moment la dupe de la supercherie. C'est pourquoi dans tous les pays on a confié aux chefs de la société le soin des monnoies. Frappées par leur ordre, et portant l'empreinte de leur autorité, la communauté se rend garant de leur valeur, et le plus ignorant les reçoit sans scrupule et sans examen.

Le travail des mines dégage l'or et l'argent de tout mélange étranger: celui de la monnoie leur en rend. On a vu que ces métaux, dans leur pureté, étoient trop maniables et trop foibles pour résister long-tems aux injures auxquelles leur destination les exposoit. Mais quoique cette réflexion ait agi sur tous les peuples qui ont battu de la monnoie, elle n'a pas cependant agi d'une manière semblable. Le titre des espèces (c'est ainsi qu'on appelle le dégré de leur pureté) varie à chaque souveraineté. Ce n'est point donc assez de connoître le poids d'une monnoie ancienne. Si l'on ignore

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ignore son titre on n'aura que des idées bien imparfaites de sa valeur. C'est aussi à quoi il faut se borner pour les espèces des anciens. Les auteurs nous instruisent peu, et soit disette de monumens soit faute de s'en servir, les antiquaires de notre siècle ne nous donnent pas assez de lumières pour nous empêcher de regretter ce silence. On sait en général que les monnoies d'or étoient d'une plus grande pureté que les nôtres, et les monnoies d'argent d'un plus bas titre. Les médailles Grecques d'Alexandre sont de vingt-trois carats seize grains, les dariques de vingt-trois carats. Dans un aureus de l'empereur Vespasien les orfèvres de Paris n'ont trouvé qu'un 788^{me} d'alloi. Les affineurs préfèrent cet or à l'or du ducat, et pensent que c'est le moindre alliage avec lequel on puisse battre la monnoie. Sous le Bas Empire les médailles d'or se ressentent de leur siècle. Les Romains ont quelquefois fait frapper des espèces d'argent assez fines. Le Père Bouteroue examina un denier d'un si haut titre que le marc n'auroit eu que 5 grains ou un 921^{me} d'alloi. Mais aussi nous savons que le tribun Drusus, ce charlatan politique qui perdit la république et lui-même parcequ'il promettoit tout et ne pouvoit rien tenir, que ce Drusus mêla un huitième d'alloi avec l'argent. Ce sont deux extrêmes, mais où trouver le milieu? et quand nous le trouverions, comment régler les monnoies d'argent des Grecs et des Orientaux? Nous ignorons entièrement leur titre. Dans cette incertitude, nous ne pouvons que supposer les monnoies des anciens du même titre que les nôtres.

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tres. Mais cette supposition, toute nécessaire qu'elle est, peut être éloignée de la vérité. Tout ce que nous pouvons faire c'est de calculer au moins les monnoies d'or suivant leur titre. J'en ai fait deux tables, l'une où je suis autant qu'il m'est possible cette méthode. Les curieux m'en sauront gré. J'en ai construites autres suivant le premier principe. Une petite erreur vaut mieux qu'une totale ignorance.

Le sceau de l'autorité publique, qui détermine le prix d'une monnoie, ne peut jamais s'étendre plus loin que cette autorité elle-même. En deça de la frontière, on l'échange sans difficulté pour des marchandises ou pour d'autres monnoies avec lesquelles on connoît sa proportion. Au delà de la frontière, elle n'est plus qu'une pièce d'or ou d'argent, dont il faut éprouver le poids et le titre pour déterminer sa proportion avec les monnoies courantes de cet autre état, et la raison veut que, dans un pays où, destituée du sceau de l'autorité, il est libre à chacun de la rejetter, elle soit appréciée un peu plus bas que sa valeur réelle. Les banquiers, qui se sont appropriés ce genre de commerce, ont senti combien il leur importoit de baisser la valeur des monnoies étrangères, et cette règle, poussée jusqu'aux finesses les plus recherchées, les conduit à de gros profits. Le langage de l'échange a pu donc égaler des espèces que les monnoyeurs avoient frappé très inégales, et ce langage, vrai pour les auteurs qui s'en sont servis, mais trompeur pour nous, nous tend un piège dont il est difficile de se démêler. Eclairé cependant par un foible rayon de

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de lumière, j'entrevois que dans les pays éloignés l'un de l'autre, qui n'ont que peu de communication, tout est permis aux banquiers. L'éloignement annéantit ce reste de confiance, que l'empreinte du prince ne peut qu'inspirer, et les peuples s'inquiètent peu d'une perte sensible mais rare. Le shekel, égal à l'ancienne tétradrachme de Solon, pesoit 316 grains; cependant du tems de Josèphe, il ne valoit que la tétradrachme nouvelle de 300 grains. Mais c'est avec regret que je vois expliquer l'égalité de la drachme et du denier de la même manière. Les tributs portoient tous les ans à Rome des sommes immenses. Des chevaliers affermissoient ces tributs, et leurs oppressions faisoient détester aux nations l'empire des Romains.* S'ils égaloient la drachme au denier, ils y gagnoient un seizième. Les banquiers de Rome, dont le négoce étoit lié intimément avec le leur, en s'unissant aux fermiers, travailloient à la fois pour eux-

* Pompée comptoit que l'Asie propre, ou celle que les Romains possédoient avant ses conquêtes, rendoit toutes les années à la république, cinq mille myriades de drachmes (1,708,333 *liv. st.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) Les partisans l'avoient affermi à ce prix. Mais ces peuples, foulés par leurs exactions, demandèrent à Jules César la grace de pouvoir payer un tribut réglé de vingt-mille talens (4,100,000 *liv. sterl.*) Cependant, sans parler de la différence énorme des deux sommes, un tribut réglé qu'il faut payer à tout événement est toujours plus onéreux que des dîmes sur le bled et les pâturages, des droits d'entrée et de sortie, qui ne peuvent croître qu'avec les richesses du peuple. Tout un plaidoyer de Cicéron ne concluroit pas autant contre les maltôtiers Romains que ce petit fait. *V. Lips. de Magnitud. Roman. L. ii. c. 2. p.* 42, 43, 44.

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mêmes et pour l'ordre.* Il est donc très possible que les Grecs ayent pu gémir quelque peu de tems sous ce fardeau; mais plus il étoit onéreux, moins il pût subsister. Les Grecs avoient entre les mains un remède sûr et aisé: parmi quelques autres vestiges de leur antique liberté, ils possédoient encore le droit de battre la monnoie, privilège dont les anciens n'étoient pas aussi jaloux que nous. Les cabinets des curieux sont remplis de médailles d'Athènes, de Sparte, &c. frappées sous les empereurs. Il faudroit supposer à ces peuples spirituels une stupidité sans exemple, si nous ne pensions pas qu'ils réduisirent alors le poids de leur drachme et la rendirent en effet égale au denier qu'ils n'abandonnèrent pas, même quand les princes n'en battoient plus que des huitièmes de l'once Romaine.†

Voilà des difficultés qui nous embarrassent, mais dont nous aurions tort de nous plaindre. L'intérêt de la société doit l'emporter sur celui de notre curiosité. Mais l'usage de donner aux monnoies

* Hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romæ, quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohæret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefactatu motû concidant. *Cicero. pro Lege Manilid, c. 9.*

† Je m'en tiendrois volontiers à cette explication. Cependant si quelqu'un me diroit que ce ne fut pas les Grecs qui imitèrent les Romains, mais ceux-ci qui suivirent l'exemple des Grecs, je n'aurois rien à lui répliquer. Les Romains empruntèrent tant des Grecs, que si la drachme Attique avoit perdu de son poids dès la mort d'Alexandre, il étoit très naturel de battre les deniers après ce modèle.

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des noms différens de leur poids, produit un embarras racheté par nulle utilité. Pourquoi ne pas dire tant d'onces d'or ou d'argent, au lieu de tant de guinées ou d'écus? La difficulté de ces noms se fait surtout sentir dans les réductions des monnoies anciennes aux nôtres. Comme celles-ci varient continuellement, la plus grande attention suffit à peine pour nous garantir de l'erreur. Un savant du siècle passé me dit que le talent vaut trois mille livres; si je ne me rappelle pas en quelle année il a écrit, et que par une recherche très difficile je ne m'instruise pas combien la livre valoit alors, je risquerai de la confondre avec celle d'aujourd'hui. C'est aussi ce qu'on a souvent fait. M. de Voltaire reproche avec raison à quelques auteurs d'avoir par cette bévue diminué les espèces anciennes de la moitié. Je ne m'en étonne pas beaucoup. C'étoient des savans, qui connoissoient à fonds les usages de tous les pays, hormis les leurs. Mais que M. l'Abbé d'Olivet, précepteur d'un grand prince, dans un ouvrage destiné pour les gens du monde, ait ignoré que les espèces avoient haussé de valeur depuis le tems de Gassendi!—il me paroît vraiment singulier. Dans un pays aussi inconstant que la France, il faudroit réformer ses calculs huit ou dix fois dans un siècle. C'est un avantage des gouvernemens moins despotiques, de n'être pas aussi sujets à ces changemens, toujours pernicieux quand ils ne sont pas absolument nécessaires. La Reine Elizabeth fixa la livre d'argent à soixante-deux chelins; ce fut au commencement de son

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règne.* Vers ce tems le marc valoit en France quinze livres. La livre Angloise n'a point changé de valeur numéraire. Le marc vaut aujourd'hui cinquante livres de compte.

Dans les tables qu'on verra à la fin, on a calculé les monnoies suivant ces principes. On connoît leurs poids, on sait ce que vaut parmi nous un tel poids d'or ou d'argent. Dès lors l'opération ne souffre plus de difficulté. Mais on auroit tort de regarder les deux derniers chapitres comme un hors-d'oeuvre, parcequ'on les chercheroit vainement dans les autres traités sur ce sujet. Ce n'a été qu'à l'aide des ces principes que nous sommes parvenus à des connoissances raisonnées, les seules dignes de ceux qui ne pensent pas que l'étude de l'antiquité ne consiste qu'à entasser des citations sans bornes et sans critique.

VII.

Dans la plûpart des pays, nous n'avons besoin de faire attention qu'à l'or et à l'argent. Ces deux métaux constituent seuls le revenu des états et la fortune des particuliers. Si le cuivre est quelquefois employé, c'est dans oes détails nécessaires

* V. Hume's History of England, tom. ii. Sous Edouard I. la livre d'argent étoit égale à la livre de compte et valoit 20 chelins; sous Edouard III. elle en valoit 22½ et ensuite 25; sous Henri V. 30; sous Henri VI. 37; sous Richard III. et Henri VII. 37½; sous Henri VIII. 45 et ensuite 48; sous Edouard VI. 72; sous la Reine Marie 60; sous Elizabeth 60 et peu après 62. *V. le Chronicon Pretiosum de Fleetwood, en Anglois*, p. 41, 42, 43.

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mais méprisables, dont on doit s'occuper dans le moment, et les oublier pour toujours. Ce n'est que dans l'enfance de la république Romaine, que ces espèces méritent quelques égards. Elle n'en connoissoit point d'autres; et comme toutes les dépenses publiques se calculoient en monnoie de cuivre, il nous importe de la connoître. A l'an de Rome 485, lorsqu'on frappa sa première monnoie d'argent, le *denier* valoit dix *as*. On a vu que le denier pesoit un septième d'once ou un quatre-vingt-quatrième de la livre Romaine. L'as étoit alors la livre Romaine elle-même. L'argent étoit au cuivre comme 840 à un. Cette proportion, huit fois aussi grande que celle qui a été établie depuis plusieurs siècles, nous fait renouveller notre question, D'où venoit-elle? L'argent étoit-il huit fois plus rare ou le cuivre huit fois plus commun que de notre tems? Duquel ferons-nous la base de nos calculs? La plûpart des auteurs ont préféré l'argent. Cependant le plus léger examen nous fera sentir que cette singulière proportion découloit de la disette de l'argent, plutôt que de l'abondance du cuivre. Quels vestiges de ces mines de cuivre qui rendoient l'Italie huit fois plus riche en ce métal que ne le sont l'Allemagne ou la Suède? Leur mémoire seroit-elle périe avec elles? Mais si même on le supposoit assez commun en Italie, une petite partie passoit à la monnoie. Le cuivre servoit alors à mille usages, auxquels on a depuis employé le fer et l'acier. Les armes étoient de cuivre dans les premiers siècles, et quoique les Dactyles eussent trouvé d'assez bonne-

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heure l'art de travailler le fer, tous les héros d'Homère combattent revêtus de cuivre; les instrumens d'agriculture, les ornemens des temples n'étoient que de ce métal. De l'autre côté, la seule circonstance que les Romains n'ont pas frappé de l'argent pendant près de cinq siècles, prouve assez qu'ils en avoient fort peu. En effet leurs bons auteurs nous apprennent que l'or et l'argent n'étoient pour ces premiers Romains que des marchandises étrangères que le luxe naissant achetoit à un haut prix. C'est pourquoi quand nous trouvons chez ce peuple une livre de cuivre évitons l'écueil commun de l'évaluer comme la 840^{me} partie d'une livre d'argent, mais apprécions cette livre d'argent comme huit cens quarante livres de cuivre. Quand l'argent des provinces commençoit à effacer dans Rome tous les vestiges de l'ancienne pauvreté, le denier valoit seize onces de cuivre. La proportion étoit de cent douze à un, proportion peu différente de la nôtre. Calculons donc la livre de cuivre comme égale en valeur aux trois quarts d'un denier ou à 56½ grains d'argent. Dans le cens qu'établit Servius Tullius, cent mille livres de cuivre donnoient au citoyen qui les possédoit une place parmi les premiers de la république. Ces cent mille livres de cuivre font, suivant l'évaluation ordinaire, huit mille cent quarante livres Tournoises, mais suivant la nôtre soixante-un mille cinquante. Je crains ici que la conclusion ne fasse rejetter le principe par ceux qui ne connoissent l'histoire Romaine que dans les abrégés. Ils ne croiront point sans doute qu'il y eut alors à Rome des particuliers aussi riches.

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riches. Mais j'ai toujours pensé qu'on abaissoit trop les premiers siècles de Rome, pour rehausser l'éclat des derniers. Mon soupçon est appuyé par les monumens publics, les plus sûrs indices de la richesse d'une nation. Dans le siècle d'Auguste on contemploit avec plaisir tous les ouvrages de ce règne glorieux, mais c'étoient vers les cloaques de Servius Tullius, vers l'aqueduc et le chemin du censeur Appius, que les yeux se tournoient qui cherchoient à connoître la puissance et l'industrie des Romains. Quoiqu'il en soit, il faut réformer nos idées sur les faits et non point les faits sur nos idées. Un exemple nous fera sentir la nécessité de sortir du sentier battu. Supposons l'Angleterre riche en argent, comme elle est aujourd'hui, mais épuisée de la plus grande partie de son or, le peu de celui-ci qui y restât ou qu'on transportât des autres pays, hausseroit aussitôt de prix, et au lieu de quinze à un, deviendroit peut-être cent à un. Qu'un François dans ces circonstances dise, l'or dans mon pays vaut tant, l'argent en Angleterre vaut cent fois moins que l'or, donc je dois compter tout cet argent à raison d'un centième de l'or; qu'il le dise, et il dira mal. L'argent des Anglois porté hors de leur pays conservera son égalité avec la même quantité d'argent chez un autre peuple. Sa valeur proportionnelle disparoîtra; les Anglois ne sentiront leur infériorité que par le commerce de l'or qu'on leur apporte, ou la balance ne sera pas pour eux. Cet exemple conclut plus que la plûpart, parceque les objets qu'on a comparés sont précisément semblables.

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En luttant avec les nations pauvres qui les entouroient, les Romains se préparoient à des triomphes plus brillans. Les Grecs, les Gaulois, les Carthaginois apportoient leurs trésors aux pieds du sénat. L'ancienne proportion de l'argent au cuivre devenoit vicieuse, mais au lieu de baisser la valeur de l'argent on haussa celle du cuivre. La nécessité avoit plus de part à cette démarche que la raison. La première guerre Punique, où il falloit entretenir des armées hors de l'Italie, avoit endetté l'état. On respectoit la foi publique, dont il falloit remplir les obligations, mais l'on respectoit aussi les droits d'un peuple épuisé, qu'on ne pouvoit pas accabler d'impôts. Le sénat aima mieux diminuer le poids de la monnoie. L'*as* étoit la livre de cuivre. Il le réduisit à deux onces; et par cette opération violente mais nécessaire, les créanciers de la république perdirent cinq parties sur six de l'argent qu'ils lui avoient prêté; mais bien différens de leurs neveux, dont Horace célèbre l'arithmétique, ces vieux guerriers ne s'apperçurent pas peut-être du changement. Ils avoient reçu leur dette en as; comment examiner si la valeur étoit la même?

Quarante-sept ans après, Hannibal fit sentir aux Romains qu'il n'y avoit plus d'Alpes. Soudoyer à la fois cent mille hommes en Italie, en Sicile, et en Espagne, c'étoit un effort que le zèle des citoyens rendoit plus facile, mais qui entraîna bientôt une nouvelle réduction de l'as. On ne le frappa plus que du poids d'une once. Mais le denier, qui ne valoit que dix as, tomboit alors trop bas, et l'augmentation

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mentation de l'argent toute grande qu'elle étoit n'y suffisoit plus. En réduisant donc l'as à une once de cuivre, on augmenta la valeur numéraire du denier à seize as. Ce denier valoit seize once de cuivre au lieu de vingt, et pendant qu'on diminuoit de la moitié la monnoie de cuivre, celle d'argent ne perdit qu'un cinquième de sa valeur.

Un grand nom m'arrête ici. Quand M. de Montesquieu me dépeint cette double opération, comme rétablissant la fortune de l'état, sans bouleverser celle des citoyens, il m'est aussi impossible de souscrire à son sentiment, qu'il m'est doux d'admirer ses talens. Toute réduction des monnoies est un soulagement pour les débiteurs et une perte pour les créanciers. Dans celle-ci, ceux qui prêtoient du cuivre pour en recevoir, perdoient la moitié, ceux qui devoient recevoir l'argent pour du cuivre ne perdoient qu'un cinquième. Mais rien ne les eût pu faire penser à cette stipulation que la connoissance du changement qu'on alloit faire. De tels secrets ne se confient pas au corps d'un peuple.

L'an de Rome 587, on réduisit l'as au poids d'une demie-once. Le motif et le détail de cette opération nous sont inconnus. Ce ne fut point la nécessité. Paul Emile venoit de conquérir la Macédoine, et les richesses qu'il y trouva avoient affranchi les Romains de la capitation. Mais le poids d'une monnoie dès lors reléguée aux plus bas détails paroissoit encore incommode, et on le méprisa trop pour changer sa proportion avec le denier qui valoit toujours seize as. J'imiterai l'exemple des Romains ; et quoique la valeur de l'as tomboit avec

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avec son poids, je calculerai ceux d'une demie-once sur le même pied que ceux d'une once. Nous craindrions de faire des opérations aussi brusques que celles dont j'ai parlé, mais aussi dans la situation de la république tout l'invitoit aux entreprises les plus hardies. Ce peuple-roi vouloit régner ou périr. Point de milieu. Si Carthage succomboit, l'or et l'argent faisoient disparoître le cuivre. Il importoit peu qu'on eût diminué cette monnoie. Si les Africains l'emportoient; privés d'empire et de liberté tout devenoit indifférent aux Romains, la plûpart n'auroient pas survécu à leur humiliation, ou auroient couru la cacher dans quelque pays encore libre.

Je ne saurois finir sans remarquer l'esprit citoyen des sénateurs Romains. Ils se prêtèrent sans difficulté à ces arrangemens si destructeurs à leurs intérêts. Presque les seuls créanciers, ils subissoient toute la perte de ces réductions. D'ailleurs elles détruisoient peu à peu la constitution aristocratique des comices. Comme la fortune requise pour la première classe demeuroit toujours fixée à cent mille as, on dut y voir parvenir un grand nombre, qui, si les espèces s'étoient soutenus sur l'ancien pied, auroient encore rampé au dernier rang des derniers citoyens.

VIII.

Des empreintes sur les monnoies.

Le poids et le titre d'une monnoie en constituent la valeur; mais c'est l'empreinte que le magistrat y fait graver qui fait connoître aux peuples cette valeur, qui en est la preuve et le gage. Les rois y ont mis leurs têtes, les républiques ont choisi les têtes

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têtes des divinités qu'elles honoroient plus particulièrement, ou quelque symbole relatif à leur situation et à leurs exploits. La science des médailles ne s'occupe que de cette connoissance. Là, c'est l'objet principal et remplit des volumes entiers; ici, elle n'est qu'un accessoire qui mérite cependant que j'en dise quelques mots.

Les Persans gravoient sur leurs dariques un archer; ce peuple guerrier, qui dut ses conquêtes à sa simplicité, et son luxe à ses conquêtes, n'apprenoit dans sa jeunesse que trois choses, à monter à cheval, à tirer de l'arc, et à dire la vérité. Les rhéteurs Grecs se sont fort égayés de cette empreinte, et dans le tems que le grand roi achetoit les républiques qu'il ne pouvoit vaincre, ils nous ont décrit ces archers comme le corps le plus redoutable de l'armée Persanne. Les Persans.

Minerve, avec tous ses attributs, l'égide, l'olivier, et la chouette, ornoit les médailles Athéniennes. La chouette surtout en faisoit la marque distinctive. Jupiter y étoit quelquefois associé avec Minerve; et le bœuf, vestige des richesses primitives, n'en disparut que fort tard. Les Athéniens perdirent leur liberté longtems avant leur fierté. Ils étoient les esclaves les plus soumis des Romains, cependant ils ne voulurent jamais graver sur leurs monnoies la tête de l'empereur. Les Athéniens.

Les Spartiates témoignèrent sur les médailles combien ils se croyoient honorés d'avoir eu pour citoyens, Castor and Pollux. Alcide, le père de leurs rois, armé de sa massue et revêtu de sa peau de lion, nous épouvante encore sur le bronze. Les Lacédémoniens.

Comme

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Comme la vertu étoit plus considérée à Sparte que les titres, nous trouvons sur leurs monnoies Lycurgue, mais pas un de leurs rois.

Les Béotiens mirent sur leurs monnoies la coupe de Bacchus ; les habitans de Chios la tête d'Homère ; les Corcyriens une galère à trois rangs de rames dont ils étoient les inventeurs. Les Carthaginois y gravèrent la tête de Didon, et ce cheval dont la tête déterrée dans les fondemens de Carthage annonçoit sa grandeur future. Philippe et Alexandre choisirent pour l'empreinte de leurs monnoies, un char à quatre chevaux, et pour le revers eux-mêmes assis sur le trône et tenant un oiseau à la main. Les habitans de l'île de Ténédos y gravèrent deux têtes accolées, et sur le revers une hache. En voici l'origine. Ténès, roi de l'île, avoit permis à ses sujets de tuer les adultères à coups de hache. On vint lui annoncer qu'on avoit surpris son fils coupable de ce crime : Qu'on exécute ma sentence, répondit-il ; pendant que j'ai des sujets il me reste assez d'enfans. Son peuple sur les monnoies, et dans ses temples, immortalisèrent ce père qui avoit fait céder la nature à la justice.

Sous la république Romaine la tête de Janus paroissoit sur la monnoie de cuivre : l'on avoit peut-être choisi cette divinité comme inventeur reconnu de la monnoie, peut-être aussi ne devoit-il ce titre qu'à l'ancienne coutume de frapper la monnoie à son empreinte. La proue d'un vaisseau distinguoit le revers de l'as. Les deniers étoient chargés d'un char à deux ou à quatre chevaux ; les plus anciens avoient les bords dentelés : les demi-

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demi-deniers d'une victoire, d'où ils tiroient leurs noms de *victoriati*. Les particuliers n'osoient jamais graver leurs têtes sur la monnoie ; mais on ne défendoit pas aux monnoyeurs, jeunes gens de famille, d'y insérer les exploits de leurs ancêtres. Le mérite des vivans est odieux dans les républiques. Elles ne savent chérir la vertu que lorsqu'elle n'est plus à craindre. On pourroit appliquer la même réflexion aux princes, s'il est vrai qu'Auguste fit graver sur ses monnoies de cuivre la tête de ce Cicéron dont la mort le couvre d'un opprobre éternel. Le trait est singulier, mais pas plus que ces consécrations de princes que leurs assassins mettoient du nombre des dieux après les avoir ôtés de celui des hommes.

Les empereurs Romains jouissoient de tous les droits régaliens. Leurs monnoies étoient chargées de leurs têtes couronnées de lauriers, et ceintes de tous leurs titres, d'empereur, de consul, de pontife, de père de la patrie, de revêtu de la puissance tribunitienne, de vainqueur des Germains, des Parthes, &c. Le revers et l'inscription représentoit quelque action brillante du prince ; des nations subjuguées, des villes fondées, des édifices construits, des impôts remis. Ces médailles, dispersées par toute la terre, annonçoient aux peuples les vertus de l'empereur, ou l'adulation du sénat.

IX.

Ce n'étoit pas assez d'imposer aux monnoies des noms différens des poids et différens les uns des autres : on a inventé des monnoies de compte qui

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qui n'existoient que dans l'imagination de ceux qui s'en sont servis et l'on a employé ces combinaisons arbitraires presqu'à l'exclusion des espèces réelles.

Rien de plus simple que la manière de compter des Grecs. Leurs mines de cent drachmes, et leurs talens de soixante mines la forment presque toute entière. Ils avoient, il est vrai, leur calcul de myriades qui n'étoient point des multiples du talent; c'étoient des sommes de dix mille drachmes. Ainsi mille myriades étoient équivalentes à dix millions de drachmes.

Les anciens nous parlent d'un talent d'or en usage dans les siècles héroïques, mais qui ne paroît avoir aucun rapport avec les autres talens. Il ne valoit que trois pièces d'or, et au lieu de peser au moins treize livres, poids du moindre des talens, il ne pesoit guères plus d'une demie-once. Je serois tenté de croire que ce talent n'étoit que le talent de cuivre exprimé en or. Il valoit trois aurei ou six drachmes d'or, soixante drachmes d'argent suivant la proportion reconnue des anciens, et six mille drachmes de cuivre, comme l'argent a été assez généralement à ce dernier métal en raison de cent à un.

Trouvons-nous des vestiges de ce talent dans les écrits d'Homère. Tous les antiquaires s'offenseront de ce doute; ils les ont déjà vus. Je crois les avoir vus aussi bien qu'eux, mais j'ai vu aussi le vrai talent d'or. De petits esprits critiqueront Homère d'avoir employé le même mot pour rendre deux idées aussi différentes, mais je les renvoye aux commentateurs qui ont déjà fait sentir la beauté de

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de cette harangue de Nestor que ses soldats pouvoient prendre de quatre manières opposées.

I. Quand Achille propose des récompenses aux vainqueurs dans ses jeux, il étale un chaudron luisant, comme un prix supérieur à deux talens d'or, et ne met un demi-talent d'or qu'après un bœuf gras : un bœuf qui vaut plus de mille livres sterling ! Il est clair qu'Achille parle du petit talent dont la moitié est environ une guinée. Ici le raisonnement seroit déplacé, il seroit ridicule.

II. Mais quand les ambassadeurs d'Agamemnon cherchent à appaiser le courroux du fils de Pelée, qu'ils lui offrent des esclaves, de beaux chevaux, &c. ils y ajoutent dix talens d'or. Eustathius aura peine à me faire croire que ce beau présent du roi des rois consistoit en vingt-deux livres sterling. Achille se plaignoit qu'on lui avoit enlevé les dépouilles de vingt-trois villes qu'avoit soumi son bras. Ces villes étoient riches, car on voit que le luxe régnoit déjà en Asie. Avec quel mépris, avec quelle indignation n'eût il pas rejetté ce dédommagement ! Il est vrai qu'il le rejette, mais c'est en faisant céder son avarice à sa colère. Si le présent étoit de vingt-un mille sept cens cinquante livres sterling, la victoire en effet devoit lui coûter.

Les sesterces des Romains embarrassent toujours un commerçant. Effrayés de ce calcul où les quantités les plus éloignées ne sont distinguées que par la suppression d'un mot, ou par la légère différence d'une terminaison, il n'y voit que des paroles vuides de sens. Je sais que cette manière de compter

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ter est un peu composée, mais je crois qu'on ne doit pas imputer la plûpart de ses épines à ceux qui s'en sont servis mais à ceux qui l'ont expliqué. Quelques principes simples le mettront à la portée de tout le monde. De tant de secours que le jugement emprunte de la mémoire, il peut et il doit lui en rendre quelques uns. On se souvient toujours bien de ce qu'on a connu nettement.

I. Les Grecs, sans être algébristes, employoient un langage peu différent de celui de l'algèbre. Au lieu de deux talens et demi, ils disoient trois talens moins un demi, Δευτερον Ημιταλαντον ; au lieu de six talens et demi, sept talens moins un demi, et ainsi de suite. Les Romains adoptèrent cette coutume de bonne-heure, mais la bornèrent à un seul cas. Leur trois moins un demi s'exprimoit par *tertius semis* ou *semis tertius*, dont on fit bientôt par abbréviation *sestertius*. Ce sestertius se disoit de tout. *Libra sestertia* signifioit deux livres et demie, *pes sestertius* deux pieds et demi.

II. Dans le commencement de la république Romaine nous avons vu que le denier valoit dix as. Le quart du denier étoit donc de deux as et demi ou deux livres et demie de cuivre, voilà pourquoi on l'appelloit *sestertuis*, ou *sestertius nummus*, ou simplement *nummus*. Il valut dans la suite quatre as, mais le nom subsista comme à l'ordinaire, plus longtems que la raison du nom. L'abus fut moins grand, comme c'étoit l'as qu'on avoit diminué et non le sesterce. On exprimoit un nombre de ces sesterces par le pluriel *sestertii*, ou bien par *sestertiûm* en sous-entendant *corpora* ou *capita*.

III.

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III. Outre la livre pondérale des Romains, ils avoient une livre de compte qu'ils appelloient *pondo*. Pour n'avoir pas fait cette distinction Budéé s'est imaginé que la livre Romaine contenoit cent deniers. Le pondo les contenoit en effet, et son égalité avec la mine nous fait croire que les Romains l'avoient composé pour rendre avec facilité les monnoies étrangères. Quand Plutarque parle du cartel établi dans la seconde guerre Punique, il fixe la rançon des prisonniers à deux cens cinquante drachmes ou deniers. Tite Live lui avoit appris qu'elle étoit deux pondo et demi d'argent. Ces deux pondo et demi faisoient en argent la *libra sestertia*, ou par excellence le *sestertium*. Comme il contenoit deux cens cinquante deniers, il étoit équivalent à mille sestertii, ou deux mille cinq cens livres de cuivre. Les Romains comptoient indifféremment par livres sesterces de cuivre et livres sesterces d'argent. Celle-ci valoit mille de celle-là. Le genre masculin distingue la première, nous reconnoissons la seconde au neutre.

IV. Les mots sont relatifs aux idées, et les idées aux besoins. On a connu des sauvages qui ne pouvoient compter que jusqu'à vingt. Leur langue ne leur fournissoit point d'expressions pour les nombres plus grands, mais c'étoit parceque celui-là suffiroit pour la chasse, la pèche, et leur manière de faire la guerre. La première classe des Romains ne possédoit que cent mille as: aussi les idées et les expressions de ce peuple se bornoient à ce nombre. Lorsque devenu plus riche il parvint à connoître et à posséder des sommes bien au delà, il

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ne savoit les exprimer qu'en multipliant des cens mille par un autre nombre, auquel il donnoit une terminaison adverbiale; *decies centena millia sestertiùm* signifioit un million de sesterces.

Il ne me reste que d'expliquer quelques marques et quelques abbréviations trop arbitraires pour se lier facilement avec ces principes.

I. LLS. II. HS H-S. sont les marques auxquelles nous reconnoissons le *sestertius*. Le *sestertium* est distingué dans les bons manuscrits par une ligne transversale, $\overline{\text{HS}}$. Quand vous trouvez un nombre quelconque avec cette ligne, sousentendez cent mille: $\overline{\text{DC.}}$ HS. font *sexcenties centena millia sestertiùm*. Quand les nombres sont distingués dans plusieurs divisions, celle à la main droite signifie des nombres simples, la suivante des milliers, et la troisième autant de cent milles.

II. Notre langue, qui veut la clarté, condamne les suppressions de mots que les Romains, qui cherchoient la brièveté, admettoient sans scrupule. Ici il y en avoit deux. On omettoit le mot *sestertii*, parcequ'ils ne comptoient presque que de cette manière. Ils supprimoient *centena millia*, dont les nombres excédens n'étoient que les multiplications. Cherchons un exemple un peu compliqué: LXII. LXXV. CCCC. est équivalent à *bis et sexagies centena millia, septuaginta et quinque millia, quadringenti sestertiùm*, ou à six millions deux cens soixante-quinze mille quatre cens sesterces.

X. Le

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X.

Le prodigue dissipe ses richesses, l'avare les enfouit, l'économe vit sans excéder le revenu de ses biens. C'est ce revenu que je veux examiner. Celui qui met son argent au six pour cent, est une fois plus riche que celui qui n'en tire que le trois. Cependant le fonds de tous les deux est le même. Voyons donc quel pouvoit être le revenu et la dépense d'un Romain, car je me bornerai à ce peuple, qui possédoit une telle somme. Ce n'est pas que nous puissions jamais apprécier au juste leur capital. Nous voyons parmi nous qu'il n'y a rien de plus vague que ces évaluations. En gros celles de la république me paroissent plus forts que la vérité, celles du tems des empereurs, plus foibles. Tout chef de parti doit être riche: mais souvent l'opinion de sa richesse lui suffit. Quelques largesses et des promesses immenses éblouissent ses partisans, et parmi les hommes corrompus l'espoir agit plus puissamment que la reconnoissance. Mais sous les meilleurs princes les richesses étoient un motif de soupçon, sous les tyrans un arrêt de mort. On s'en cachoit alors comme d'un crime.

L'intérêt se payoit, parmi les Romains, tous les mois. Un pour cent par mois, ou douze pour cent par année étoient l'intérêt qu'ils appelloient *centesima*. Cet un par mois se divisoit en fractions. Au lieu de dire six pour cent, on disoit un demi pour cent, *usuræ semisses*, &c. Les tribuns Duillius et Menenius déterminèrent l'intérêt légitime à douze pour cent; c'étoit à l'an 398: mais

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on le réduisit bientôt à la moitié, et l'an 413 on l'abolit entièrement. Depuis ce tems l'usure demeuroit condamnée et pratiquée à Rome; et comme les mœurs suppléent quelquefois aux loix l'intérêt de six pour cent passoit pour honnête et modique, pendant qu'on prodiguoit le nom odieux d'usuriers, à ceux qui, ne se contentant pas de ce profit, bravoient l'infamie pour le gain. Cette défense du prêt sur usure ne s'étendoit point toutefois aux provinces. Cicéron et Pline m'apprennent que dans la Bithynie et la Cilicie l'intérêt au douze pour cent étoit permis par les arrêts des proconsuls et des empereurs. Cependant cette usure, toute forte qu'elle étoit, n'assouvissoit pas l'avarice Romaine. Brutus avoit prêté deux millions cinq cens mille sesterces à la ville de Salamine en Cypre à quarante-huit pour cent; et cette malheureuse cité se trouvant dans l'impuissance de les payer, Scaptius, son fidèle émissaire, environna l'hôtel de ville d'un corps de cavalerie, et le tint assiégé jusqu'à faire périr de faim cinq de leurs sénateurs. Ce Stoïcien Brutus, qui assassina son bienfaiteur, le meilleur des maîtres, pour avoir osé gouverner une république qui ne pouvoit plus se gouverner elle-même, exerçoit sur les peuples le despotisme le plus dur et le plus injuste.

La grandeur de l'usure à Rome ne peut surprendre que ceux qui ne connoissent ni les hommes, ni les Romains. L'argent étoit englouti dans un petit nombre de mains. Ce peuple méprisoit le commerce, les revenus étoient affermis par des compagnies qui avoient un commun intérêt. Les dépouilles

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dépouilles des provinces enrichissoient quelques familles consulaires. Les esclaves des tyrans, monstres plus méprisables que les maltôtiers, et plus destructeurs que les conquérans, ne pouvoient souffrir des rivaux. Ainsi il y avoit peu de prêteurs à Rome. De-là, ceux qui avoient le monopole de ce commerce, étoient les maîtres de le faire aussi lucratif qu'ils vouloient. Les loix mêmes les engageoient à se dédommager, par le plus gros gain, du danger et de l'infamie qu'elles y attachoient. Le danger étoit grand, surtout dans les premiers tems, où leurs créanciers, c'est à dire le peuple, par un seul décret pouvoit rayer à jamais et l'intérêt et le principal.

L'intérêt de l'argent et le prix des terres gardent toujours un certain équilibre. Si l'intérêt est bas, il est plus avantageux d'acheter des fonds ; ceux-ci haussent de valeur. Si l'intérêt est fort, il est plus commode d'avoir des rentes; on réalise peu et les terres se donnent à vil prix. L'intérêt commun à Rome étoit de six pour cent;* un passage de Pline me fait voir que le prix d'achat pour les terres étoit au revenu comme cent à six. Ce bienfaiteur éclairé autant que généreux, voulant donner cinq cens mille sesterces à la ville de Como, aima mieux charger une de ses terres d'une rente perpétuelle de trente mille sesterces.

* Quelquefois l'on en tiroit beaucoup plus; mais aussi comme il n'y avoit point à Rome de fonds publics, il n'étoit pas toujours possible de faire travailler tout son argent. Il faut compenser l'un par l'autre.

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Cependant sur ces six pour cent, j'aimerois assez diminuer un sixième; les palais, les meubles, les esclaves emportoient aux grands des sommes immenses qui ne rendoient rien.

XI.

Une carrière toute différente nous attend, et nous pourrions encore une fois simplifier nos idées. La connoissance des mesures a pour objet, aussi bien que la géométrie, les lignes droites. Mais dans la géométrie leurs propriétés abstraites nous intéressent. Ici la seule considération est celle de leur longueur.

Cette longueur n'est point arbitraire comme les poids. Les hommes sont assez généralement convenus de former leur mesures longues sur quelque division naturelle du corps humain. Quelques uns ont choisi le pied; d'autres ont préféré la coudée, et l'on ne doit imputer les légères différences des poids et des coudées respectives qu'à la manière dont on les a prises; ici on a cherché des hommes d'une taille demesurée, là on s'est attaché plutôt à la grandeur commune de l'espèce humaine. D'ailleurs la nature, en dispensant ses dons, n'a point accordé à tous les peuples la même taille. Le climat et les alimens agissent d'une manière lente mais puissante. Que les peuples du nord surpassent en grandeur ceux du midi, est une maxime mieux fondée que la plûpart des maximes générales. Les nations Celtiques ont toujours paru des géans aux peuples de la Grèce et de l'Italie, et nous, les descendans

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scendans de ces Celtes, citons avec admiration les Suèdes et les Norvégiens.

En recherchant les mesures des anciens je distinguerai avec soin les preuves dont la certitude n'est point égale. J'éviterai de confondre les démonstrations et les conjectures. Deux monumens précieux, échappés au naufrage des tems, serviront d'appui à mes raisonnemens. Les inductions, les proportions qui peuvent nous aider à découvrir les autres mesures paroîtront à leur place.

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DISSERTATION
SUR LES POIDS, LES MONNOIES, ET LES MESURES DES ANCIENS, &c.

AVANT-PROPOS.

Depuis qu'on étudie l'histoire des hommes plutôt que celle des rois, on s'est attaché avec raison à la connoissance de leur économie politique et domestique. Dans cette étude on se trouve chaque moment arrêté par l'ignorance de ces signes arbitraires dont chaque peuple s'est servi pour exprimer les différens rapports de nombre, d'étendue, et de quantité, je veux parler des mesures, des poids et des monnoies.

Ce seroit un ouvrage utile, mais immense, qu'un dictionnaire complet de cette langue économique, et un recueil étendu de tous les faits intéressans auxquels il nous serviroit d'interprète, c'est à dire, en d'autres mots, une histoire de l'industrie et du luxe. Un pareil ouvrage demanderoit les soins attentifs et soutenus d'une société de savans dispersée dans les différentes parties de l'Europe. Je voudrois qu'elle se formât; mais en attendant un événement aussi peu vraisemblable, je rassemblerai dans ce receuil tout ce que mes lectures historiques me fourniront sur un objet aussi curieux qu'utile. Cet ouvrage se grossira sans dessein et sans effort, et s'enrichira insensiblement du fruit de toutes mes études.

Je

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Je m'attacherai surtout, 1. Aux revenus publics et aux impôts; 2. Au prix du bled et à celui des autres denrées nécessaires à la vie; 3. Au prix du travail militaire, civil ou domestique, et par une liaison naturelle au nombre de ceux de qui l'on exigeoit ou de qui l'on pouvoit exiger un semblable service; 4. Au prix de l'argent, c'est à dire au revenu annuel, et au taux d'intérêt d'une somme quelconque; 5. A l'emploi de l'argent, et par conséquent aux mœurs, au luxe et aux arts.

J'écrirai en François, mais je ferai mes réductions à l'Angloise. Commençons par établir le rapport de l'argent des deux pays.

L'once Angloise d'argent monnoyé vaut cinq chelins et deux sous sterling. Depuis l'an 1726 on taille au marc d'argent de huit onces de Paris, huit écus $\frac{1}{8}$ chacun de six livres; ce marc vaut par conséquent 50*l.* 5*s.* Tournois. En supposant l'identité précise du poids et du titre, ce marc vaudroit 41 chelins 4 sous; mais si nous rabattons $\frac{1}{60}=7\frac{1}{2}s.$ pour le premier et $\frac{1}{111}=4\frac{1}{2}$ pour le second, il nous restera 40 chelins 4 sous pour la valeur du marc: la livre Tournois voudroit $9\frac{1}{2}$ sous sterling, et la livre sterling sera égale à peu près de 25 livres Tournois.

Cependant si nous consultons l'échange ordinaire entre Londres et Paris nous trouverons la livre sterling à $22\frac{1}{2}$ livres Tournois chacune de $10\frac{1}{2}$. On s'est plaint depuis longtems de ce mal dont on connoît la source et le remède. L'or du Brésil a changé, depuis quelques années, la proportion établie entre les deux métaux précieux. La monnoie de France

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France a suivi très sagement les révolutions du commerce. Elle a fixé la proportion comme 14 à 1; chez nous elle est comme 15 à 1 : l'once d'argent ne vaut que *5c. 2s.* à la monnoie; son prix chez les orfèvres est souvent *5c. 7s.* On devine sans peine les suites de cette inégalité chez une nation qui calcule. Elle diminue le prix courant de nos espèces d'argent, pour augmenter celui des monnoies étrangères. Personne ne veut porter son argent à la monnoie à des conditions aussi dures. La source est tarie, et ce fleuve rapide dans son cours appauvrit sans cesse l'Angleterre pour enrichir ses voisins. Le banquier ne peut que suivre le torrent; mais dans ce recueil je dois oublier ces proportions accidentelles et injustes pour n'envisager que la valeur intrinsèque des espèces, c'est à dire leur poids et leur titre.

J'aurai souvent occasion d'apprécier des monnoies dont j'ignore le titre. J'y substituerai toujours celui de ce pays. C'est une vérité hypothétique dont il faut se contenter à la place de la vérité absolue.

Lorsqu'il m'arrive de ne point connoître la proportion établie entre l'or et l'argent, je la supposerai toujours comme 10 à 1 jusqu'au tems d'Auguste, comme 12 à 1 jusqu'à la découverte de l'Amérique, et comme 15 à 1 jusqu'à nos jours. Je sais que cette progression n'est pas sans exceptions, mais elles sont en petit nombre, et j'aurai soin de les indiquer.

Je partage mon recueil en sept colonnes qui s'accompagneront toujours. I. Mes notices générales

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rales de livres extraits, observations, &c. qui appartiennent à plusieurs classes à la fois; II. L'antiquité: cette partie renfermera encore le Bas Empire jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs; III. La Grande Bretagne avec l'Irlande; IV. La France et les Pays Bas; V. L'Allemagne, la Suisse et les Pays du Nord; VI. L'Italie et l'Espagne; VII. L'Orient, les Indes, et l'Afrique; en un mot, tout ce qui est hors de l'Europe.

I.

NOTICES GÉNÉRALES.

1. An Inquiry into the State of the Ancient Measures; the Attic, the Roman, and particularly the Jewish; by Dr. John Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, livre vraiment admirable dans son genre. L'esprit le plus systématique éclaire partout la plus profonde érudition. On peut perfectionner quelques détails, mais je crois qu'il faudra toujours bâtir sur les principes de ce savant évêque. C'est pourquoi je vais en donner une idée abrégée.

On ne peut s'arrêter qu'à ces poids qui existent encore et qui peuvent se comparer avec les nôtres. La drachme Attique bien connue nous donnera par ses rapports tous les autres poids de l'antiquité. On sait que lorsqu'il est question de poids et surtout de monnoies il en faut toujours choisir les plus pesantes. Le tems, la rouille, l'avidité des hommes leur ôtent toujours une partie de leur volume que rien ne peut augmenter. L'exact Greaves, le père des expériences de ce genre, avoit pesé

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pesé beaucoup de tétradrachmes Attiques. Les mieux conservées lui donnoient un poids de 268 grains ou de 67 pour la drachme. Deux didrachmes d'or de Philippe et d'Alexandre lui indiquoient une drachme de 67,25 grains. M. Eisenschmidt avoit dans sa possession une tétradrachme de 4×83½ grains de Paris; 68,36 des nôtres. La mine Attique de 100 de ces dernières drachmes aura pesé 6836 grains.

Les hommes se conduisent rarement par cette liberté d'indifférence qu'ils s'arrogent si souvent: dans les institutions les plus arbitraires il leur faut quelque motif. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont fixé les mesures longues sur les parties du corps humain, la coudée, le pied, la palme, ou le doigt; qu'ils en ont employé les cubes pour des mesures de capacité, et qu'ils ont déterminé leurs poids par celui d'une de ces cubes remplie de eau ou de vin. Parmi ces mesures la cube palmique, (terme moyen entre les autres,) a pu paroître la plus généralement utile. On sait par expérience qu'une cube d'eau de 12 pouces doit peser 76 livres, la cube de la palme nous donnera par conséquent 6840 grains. Un rapport aussi précis (car le pied Grec ne différoit presque point du nôtre) nous persuade que nous avons trouvé la mine Attique construite sur les mêmes principes hydrostatiques que cette livre palme que nous venons de supposer.

Les Grecs reconnoissent, malgré leur vanité, qu'ils doivent à la colonie Phénicienne de Cadmus leurs poids et leurs mesures dont ce peuple à été l'inventeur. Une nation commerçante et industrieuse a dû trouver de bonne heure des proportions

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tions réfléchies qui méritent seules à cet égard le nom d'invention. L'ésprit humain fait des progrès rapides lorsque l'intérêt se joint à la curiosité. Le commerce des Phéniciens a porté leurs arts sur toutes les côtes de la Méditerrannée. On leur attribueroit avec plaisir la construction de la livre palme, et l'égalité du talent Attique avec celui de Tyr, formellement énoncée par un des anciens, nous permet de le faire.

Si nous balançons à admettre cette égalité sur la foi de Heron, nous pouvons nous en assurer par l'égalité qui a toujours subsisté à cet égard entre deux peuples très éloignés qui se connoissoient à peine l'une l'autre, mais qui ont toujours eu des liaisons très intimes avec les Phéniciens, je veux parler des Juifs et des Athéniens. Josèphe, Philon, les Septante ont égalisé le shekel de Jerusalem et la tétradrachme d'Athènes, et l'on ne doit pas seulement écouter les rabbins* lorsqu'ils sont opposés à des écrivains aussi anciens et aussi instruits. Qu'on me rende raison d'un accord aussi singulier sans supposer que les deux nations ont eu un modèle commun; et quel modèle oseroit le disputer avec celui de Tyr?

On ne doit pas oublier que les Phéniciens, après avoir formé leur livre palme ou mine, et leur talent, qui en contenoit 60, ont compté, je ne sais par quelle raison, un autre talent le double du premier, mais qu'en conservant toujours les mêmes divisions, sa mine n'étoit plus la livre palme. Les Juifs ont adopté tous les deux; le premier est leur talent profane; celui-ci leur talent sacré mais le

* M. Hooper les écoute un peu longuement.

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plus usité, parceque les prêtres ont toujours rédigé leurs annales. Les Athéniens n'ont connu que le premier. Le second à passé enfin en Egypte sous le nom de talent d'Alexandrie.

Cette mine Attique ou livre palme a toujours été la livre pondérale des Athéniens. Au commencement elle en déterminoit aussi la monnoie. Mais enfin on a frappé des drachmes plus légères, et la distinction d'une livre de poids et d'une livre de compte s'est introduite dans la Grèce comme chez nous. Sous les empereurs Romains, la drachme monnoie ne pesoit que 54,75 grains ou la huitième partie de l'once Romaine. Comme poids elle étoit toujours de 68,40 grains. Cette distinction, autorisée par l'analogie et prouvée par les faits, répand un nouveau jour sur les endroits les plus obscurs de l'antiquité numismatique.

Les systèmes les mieux construits ont toujours leur endroit foible. M. Hooper l'a senti. Après avoir vu un poids formé sur des principes hydrostatiques on s'attendroit du moins à voir que sa mesure étoit une des mesures creuses des Athéniens. Point du tout. La cotyle (mesure du creux des deux mains jointes ensemble) pesoit 60 drachmes, et le dicotylon, au lieu de peser une mine, pesoit 1,2 mine. On se sauve pourtant par la distinction reconnue chez les Juifs et supposée chez les Athéniens, d'une mine pondérale plus grosse d'un cinquième que la mine ordinaire, et dont le dicotylon étoit la cube. On se servoit (dit-on) de cette mine pour peser les corps d'un grand volume et de peu de valeur. Il y a effectivement peu de nations chez qui l'on ne trouve ces livres différentes. Cependant j'aimerois mieux remonter à la formation de la

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la cotyle, et supposer que les Athéniens l'ont déterminée par le seul modèle d'une mesure creuse que la nature leur offroit. J'ai dit les Athéniens; mais il faudroit dire plutôt les Phéniciens qui ont transmis aux Juifs et aux Grecs leurs mesures, aussi bien que leurs poids.

Les Romains se sont conduits avec beaucoup plus d'art. L'amphore étoit la cube de leur pied et pesoit 80 livres d'eau ou de vin. Le conge étoit la cube du demi-pied et pesoit 10 livres. M. Hooper est néanmoins peu disposé à faire honneur aux pâtres de Romulus d'une invention aussi subtile. Il pense que les Romains, qui tenoient leurs loix des Athéniens, en avoient aussi reçu les élémens de leurs mesures; et qu'après avoir formé une livre, les trois quarts de la mine, et un pied, les deux tiers de la coudée, ils ont choisi le poids de dix livres pour obtenir une certaine égalité de leur conge avec le chous d'Athènes. Les cubes qui en ont résulté n'ont été qu'un effet singulier du hasard. Du tems de Platon les Grecs eux-mêmes entendoient à peine la duplicature de la cube.

Ce poids du conge ou de 10 livres s'appelloit *denarius*. Lorsqu'on frappa la première monnoie d'argent, le denier d'argent, qui valoit 10 livres de cuivre, ne pesoit que la septième partie de l'once. Les deniers les plus forts qui nous restent sont de 62½ grains; ils nous donneroient une once de 437½ grains. Cette once répond avec une justice singulière à celle que Villalpandus et Gassendi ont trouvé par leur expérience sur le conge Farnèse. Elle est encore l'once Romaine de nos jours. Sous les

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les empereurs le denier n'étoit plus que la huitième partie de l'once ; la livre et l'once étoient toujours les mêmes, pendant que leurs divisions devenoient moins fortes et plus nombreuses.

Lorsque les Romains avoient soumis la Grèce, la drachme Attique tomba de 68,40 grains à 62,50 et devint égale au denier Romain. C'est cette égalité, clairement annoncée dans tous les auteurs depuis Polybe jusqu'à Plutarque, et qui ne peut s'expliquer que dans le système de M. Hooper. Chaque nation inventa bientôt des expédiens pour applanir toutes les difficultés du commerce. Les Romains inventèrent une livre de compte (pondo auri vel argenti) de 100 deniers, égale par conséquent à la mine Attique ; et d'un autre côté la drachme monnoie accompagna le denier dans toutes ses variations, et devint, comme lui, la huitième partie de l'once Romaine, 54,75 grains.

Les vaincus poussèrent encore plus loin leur complaisance. Avant le tems de Constantin les Athéniens s'étoient formé une livre pondérale partagée, comme celle de leurs maîtres, en 12 onces et 96 drachmes. La drachme étoit la drachme de poids de 68,40 grains, et cette livre, qu'ils nommèrent *litra*, étoit à la mine comme 24 à 25. On se souvient que la mine étoit à la livre Romaine en raison de 4 à 3. Cette livre Attique, qui n'a point pu se dérober aux yeux pénétrans de M. Hooper, explique sans peine les fragmens obscurs et corrompus de Fannius, de Cleopatras, de Dioscorides, et de St. Epiphane. On comprend sans peine qu'il se forma dans l'orient plusieurs de ces litres dont le poids étoit différent selon leur drachme primitive.

Le

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Le ratel de Cairo est connu dans tout l'orient. Les Arabes l'ont toujours regardé comme la mine Attique. Son poids les justifie. Il est de 6886 grains, divisé en 12 onces, 144 dirhems, et 1728 kirats, ou carats. Nous y reconnoissons une litra dont les auteurs ont quitté la drachme pour continuer la progression Romaine. Cette drachme est cependant la huitième partie de leur once, sous le nom de *drachma Attica*, ou de darchemy. On peut observer une légère différence entre la litra d'Athènes et le ratel de Cairo. Les uns ont multiplié la drachme, les autres ont partagé la mine. Mais les Egyptiens ont rendu témoignage au procédé Attique par le poids étranger de 68,32 grains qu'ils ont conservé sous le nom de mitheale.

Le ratel de Cairo s'est répandu dans l'occident avec les conquêtes et le commerce des Arabes. Ce ratel se retrouve avec peu de changement dans la livre d'Espagne, et dans celle que nous nommons *avoirdupoids*. Nous avons adopté, aussi bien que les François, un ratel de 10 dirhems, qui différoit moins de la livre Romaine. Les Arabes (en un mot) sont les fameux Esterlins, qui ont fixé le poids sterling de ces pays.

II.

L'ANTIQUITÉ.

Section I.

J'aime beaucoup les tables décimales. Elles ont le double mérite de la précision et de la facilité.

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J'en donnerai ici quatre sur les principes de M. Hooper calculées pour les quatre différens états que nous connoissons de la drachme Attique. 1. Le premier commence au règlement de Solon vers l'an 600 avant Jésus Christ, et pourroit s'étendre jusqu'à la mort d'Alexandre. La drachme égale à celle de poids étoit toujours à 68,40 grains. 2. Depuis la mort d'Alexandre jusqu'à la conquête de la Grèce par les Romains, elle étoit à 65,5 grains. 3. Elle devint égale au denier Romain de 62,57 grains. 4. Cette égalité subsistoit encore sous Tibère et sous Vespasien. Celse et Pline l'ancien en sont nos garans : mais Galien, qui vivoit sous les Antonins, reconnoît que le denier et la drachme n'étoient plus que le huitième de l'once Romaine, c'est à dire 54,75 grains. On pourroit fixer ce changement au règne d'Adrien.

Corn. Cels. l. v. c. 17. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 9. Galen. Ed. Basil. Gr. tom. ii. p. 380.

I.

Table des Drachmes Attiques de 68,40 *Grains en Parties Décimales de la Livre Sterling.*

1	00368124998
2	00736249996
3	01104374994
4	01472499992
5	01840624990
6	02208749988
7	02576874986
8	02944999984
9	03313124982

II.

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II.

Table des Drachmes Attiques de 65,5 Grains.

N. B. J'ai copié la table de M. Hooper; mais elle me paroît assez peu utile. L'expérience nous assure qu'il y a beaucoup de drachmes de ce poids. Les successeurs d'Alexandre commencèrent de bonne heure à altérer, mais on voit par le traité d'Antiochus que l'ancienne drachme de 75 à la livre Romaine étoit toujours considérée comme le poids légitime.

1	00352517360
2	00705034720
3	01057552080
4	01410069440
5	01762586800
6	02115104160
7	02467621520
8	02820138880
9	03172656240

III.

Table des Drachmes Attiques et des Deniers Romains de 62,57 Grains.

J'ai corrigé quelques erreurs de la table de Hooper.

1	00336755952
2	00673511904
3	01010267856
4	01347023808
5	01683779770
6	02020535712
7	02357291664
8	02694047616
9	03030803568

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IV.

Cette table n'est point dans Hooper.

Table des Drachmes Attiques et des Deniers Romains de 54,75 Grains.

1	00294661456
2	00589322912
3	00883984368
4	01178645824
5	01473307280
6	01767968736
7	02062630192
8	02357291648
9	02651953104

Lorsque les Romains frappèrent les premiers deniers d'argent, ces deniers valoient dix *as*, ou livres de cuivre. Ils le partagèrent en moitiés et en quarts de deniers. La moitié s'appelloit *quinarius*, ou cinq livres de cuivre. Le quart du denier valoit deux livres et demie de cuivre, et s'appelloit *sestertius*, mot corrompu de *semistertius* trois moins un demi. Cette façon de compter étoit fort utile parmi les anciens. Le *sestertius*, *sestertius* nummus, ou par abbréviation *nummus*, devint la racine du calcul mystérieux des Romains dont je vais éclaircir les difficultés.

1. De 1 à 1000, les Romains comptoient simplement *duo, tres, &c. ducenti, trecenti, &c. sestertii.*

2. Par-

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2. Parvenus à 1000, ils changeoient de méthode pour compter désormais au genitif au lieu du nominatif *duo millia sestertiûm*, en sousentendant *corpora ;* ou bien rassemblant 1000 sestertii sous le nom collectif de *sestertium*, ils parloient ainsi, *duo, tria, &c. sestertia.* Une raison particulière les engageoit de s'arrêter au nombre de 1000. Nous avons vu qu'à l'imitation de la mine Attique, ils s'étoient fait une livre d'argent de compte de 100 deniers. Le sestertium (250 deniers) étoit par conséquent la *livre sesterce d'argent*, comme le *sestertius l'étoit de cuivre.*

3. L'arithmétique Romaine ne passoit point les centaines de mille. Ils ne pouvoient exprimer un million de sestertii qu'en disant dix cent mille. Pour rendre la distinction encore plus nette ils commençoient alors à se servir de l'adverbe *decies, centies, millies*, supprimant *centena millia* qu'ils se contentoient de supposer. M. Hooper pense que ce million de sestertii étoit *la livre sesterce d'or.* Dans la pauvreté de Rome naissante l'or pouvoit bien être à l'argent comme 100 à 1.

Le sesterce, toujours le quart du denier, s'est vu réduit de $\frac{1}{78}$ à $\frac{1}{72}$ de l'once Romaine.

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I.

Table des Sesterces de 28 à l'Once en Parties Décimales de la Livre Sterling.

1	0	0	0	8	4	1	8	8	9	8	8
2	0	0	1	6	8	3	7	7	9	7	6
3	0	0	2	5	2	5	6	6	9	6	4
4	0	0	3	3	6	7	5	5	9	5	2
5	0	0	4	2	0	9	4	4	9	4	0
6	0	0	5	0	5	1	3	3	9	2	8
7	0	0	5	8	9	3	2	2	9	1	6
8	0	0	6	7	3	5	1	1	9	0	4
9	0	0	7	5	7	7	0	0	8	9	2

1 Sestertius.
10 Sestertii.
100 Sestertii.
1 Sestertium.
10 Sestertia.
100 Sestertia.
Decies C. M. S.
Centies C. M. S.
Millies.
Decies Millies.
Centies Millies.

II.

Table des Sesterces de 32 à l'Once.

1	00073665364
2	00147330728
3	00220996092
4	00294661456
5	00368326820
6	00441993184
7	00515657548
8	00589322912
9	00662988276

M. Hooper

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M. Hooper veut dérober aux Romains la construction artificieuse de leurs mesures creuses pour ne faire d'eux que des imitateurs serviles des Athéniens. Je ne saurois être de son avis. 1. La correspondance ancienne de ces deux peuples célèbres est assez mal prouvée. 2. Tout est différent dans les mesures des deux peuples, la valeur, les noms, et les proportions respectives. Le rapport même qu'on veut nous y faire voir est trop imparfait pour me persuader que les inventeurs l'ont connu. 3. L'amphore, cube d'un pied, et le conge sa huitième partie, cube du demi-pied, sont construits avec une précision peu connue dans les effets du hasard. 4. Je conviens sans peine que les Romains ignoroient la duplicature de la cube dans le tems que les Grecs la connoissoient assez confusément, mais les Romains tenoient leurs arts des Etrusques; et nous ignorons jusqu'à quel point cette nation ingénieuse avoit pu porter ses connoissances géométriques. Si les Romains ont suivi sans réflexion des institutions dont ils n'entendoient point les principes, nous comprenons encore pourquoi le fameux décret du peuple a réglé les mesures par leur poids plutôt que les poids par leurs mesures.

Hooper, p. iii. c. 6. p. 152—175.

Cyrus et son fils Cambyse ne levoient point d'impôts sur leurs sujets. Darius, fils d'Hystaspe, partagea son vaste empire en vingt grands gouvernemens ou satrapies. Il fixa le tribut que chaque province devoit payer au trésor royal. Les Perses, qui comparoient la bonté de Cyrus et la sévérité de Cambyse avec l'humeur avare de Darius,

Herodot. Hist. iii. 89—97. Edit. Gronov. Ludg. Bat. 1715.

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donnèrent au premier le nom de père, au second celui de maître, et au troisième celui de marchand, Καπηλος. Je copierai le dénombrement des provinces et des tributs qu'Hérodote nous a laissé, et j'y ajouterai quelques observations.

Section II.

Table des Provinces de l'Empire de Darius et du Tribut qu'elles payoient.

Herodot. l. iii. c. 89—98. Ce règlement subsistoit lorsqu'il écrivoit. Il lut la première ébauche de son histoire à Athènes en 445 avant J. C. mais il s'en occupoit encore l'an 412. V. Prideaux's Connection, t. i. 291, 292. Fol. London. 1713.

Satrapies.	Talens Babyloniens.	Livres Sterl.
1. L'Ionie, l'Eolie, la Carie, la Lycie, et la Pamphylie - - - - - - - -	400	103,072
2. La Mysie, la Lydie, &c. - - - -	500	128,840
3. Les deux Phrygies, la Paphlagonie, le pays des Thraces Asiatiques (la Bithynie) et celui des Syriens, (une partie de la Cappadocie) - N. B. Ces trois satrapies composoient le royaume de Crésus, roi de Lydie.	360	92,765
4. La Cilicie. Je soupçonne qu'elle comprenoit une partie de la Cappadocie et peut-être de la Haute Syrie - - - - - -	500	128,840
5. La Syrie depuis la ville de Posideion* jusqu'aux frontières de l'Egypte. La Phénicie, la Palestine, et l'île de Cypre y étoient comprises, mais l'Arabie étoit exempte de tout tribut	350	90,189
6. L'Egypte, avec la province de Cyrène -	700	180,378
7. Les Satgagydæ, Gandarii, Dadicæ, et Aparytæ - - - - - - - - Je n'ai pas la moindre connoissance de ces quatre nations.	170	43,805
8. Suse et le reste du pays des Cissiens, c'est à dire de la Susiane - - - - -	300	77,304
9. Babylone et le reste de l'Assyrie - - N. B. Il faut y comprendre la Mésopotamie.	1000	257,680

* Je ne connois point ce Posideion:

10. Ecbatane,

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Satrapies.	Talens Babyloniens.	Livres Sterl.	
10. Ecbatane, et le reste de la Médie, &c. -	450	115,956	
11. Les Caspii, Pausicæ, Pantimathi et Daritæ.	200	51,536	
N. B. Je crois que ce sont les habitans de la rive occidentale de la mer Caspienne.			
12. La Bactriane - - - - - -	360	92,765	
13. L'Arménie jusqu'au Pont Euxin - -	400	103,072	
14. Les Sargatii, Sarangæi, Thamanæi, Utii, et Meci, (Μαϰαι) et les îles de la mer Rouge -	600	154,608	
N. B. Je connois la ville de Saranga dans la Gédrosie. Mais je voudrois reconnoître ici Thaman, capitale de l'Idumée, le pays d'Uz, patrie de Job, et peut-être la Mecque. Il y a beaucoup de petites îles dans la mer Rouge.			V. Cellar. Notit. orb. Antiquæ Amstel. 1706, t. ii. p. 416, 429, 520.
15. Les Sacæ et les Caspii - - - - -	250	64,420	
N. B. Ce doit être l'Hyrcanie.			
16. La Parthie, la Chorasmie, la Sogdiane et l'Ariane - - - - - -	300	77,304	
17. Les Paricanii et les Ethiopiens d'Asie -	400	103,072	
Ces Ethiopiens n'avoient que le nom de commun avec ceux d'Afrique; leur taille, leur armure et leur situation, tout les confondoit avec les Indiens. Je pense qu'ils s'étendoient dans la Caramanie et la Gédrosie jusqu'à l'Indus.			V. Herod. vii. 69, 70.
18. La Mantiene, &c. C'est une portion de la Médie et de l'Adiabene - - - - -	200	51,536	
19. Les Moschi, Mosynæci, Tibareni, &c. Ces peuples s'étendoient au Nord Ouest, de l'Arménie jusqu'au Pont Euxin - -	300	77,304	
	7740	1,994,446	
20. Les Indiens. Cette nouvelle conquête de Darius pouvoit embrasser les pays arrosés par l'Inde, et par les fleuves qui s'y jettent. Ce peuple riche et nombreux payoit par an 360 talens Euboïques d'or - - - - -	Talens Euboïques. 4680	1,033,671	

1. Ce dénombrement d'Hérodote porte les caractères

tères les plus frappans de l'authenticité. Ses détails, sa précision, les noms des provinces, leurs divisions, si différentes de la géographie Grecque, tout annonce une pièce originale. On croiroit qu'Hérodote ne nous a donné qu'un extrait du fameux édit de Darius* connu dans tout l'empire; mais un extrait enrichi de ce que ses voyages lui avoient appris sur l'état des provinces aussi bien que sur les motifs de Darius et l'opinion publique à l'egard de sa nouvelle institution. 2. Pour connoître les sommes de ce tribut, il ne s'agit que de connoître le talent Euboïque, auquel Hérodote a réduit lui-même celui de Babylone. Celui-ci contenoit 70 mines Euboïques. Selon Julius Pollux ce même talent contenoit 70 mines Attiques. La mine (et par conséquent le talent) de l'île d'Eubée étoit égale à celle d'Athènes, aussi bien qu'a celle de Tyr. On croit avec raison que Darius aura exprimé cette somme par le talent Phénicien que le commerce de ce peuple industrieux rendoit familier à tous les peuples de son empire. Mais pourquoi notre historien ne l'a-t-il pas traduit par le talent Attique, la monnoie reçue dans la ville qui méritoit à tant d'égards le nom de capitale de la Grèce, et de fondatrice de ses plus belles colonies? 3. Darius permettoit aux tributaires le choix de l'or ou de l'argent. Il exigeoit le talent d'argent Babylonien, mais il se contentoit du talent d'or Euboïque qui pesoit un septième de moins. Cet avantage ac-

Polluc. Onom. l. ix.

Hooper, p. 288–297.

* M. Hooper, p. 297—303, compare la mine Euboïque avec celle d'Alexandrie. Il est clair qu'il se trompe.

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cordé à l'or produisit la proportion assez singulière de 1 à 13, suivant laquelle Hérodote calcule à 4680 talens Euboïques d'argent les 360 talens Euboïques d'or que les Indiens payoient au roi. Mais elle est purement hypothétique. En supposant celle de 11 à 1 les Indiens auroient dû payer 3960 talens d'argent, mais des talens Babyloniens égaux à 4620 talens Euboïques. Ce fleuve d'or, qui couloit sans cesse de l'orient en occident, avoit déjà établi la proportion décuple du tems de la bataille de Cunaxe. 4. Si nous réduisons en talens Euboïques les 7740 talens Babyloniens, nous en aurons 9030 de ceux-là. Hérodote a calculé ce total à 9540 talens, mais il nous avertit lui-même qu'il a passé sous silence plusieurs petits articles. Cette explication, qui justifie à la fois ses détails et son arithmétique, me persuade qu'il a eu sous les yeux un tableau des revenus Persans bien plus étendu que celui qu'il nous a laissé. Mais lorsqu'il nous donne 14,560 talens d'argent Euboïques pour le grand total, au lieu de 14,220, on ne sauroit excuser la faute de l'historien ou de son copiste. 5. Ces 14,220 talens Euboïques, le véritable résultat du calcul, nous donnoit 3,246,859 *l. s.* Un pareil revenu paroît mal assorti avec la magnificence des rois de Perse, et avec la grandeur d'un empire qui s'étendoit de l'Hellespont jusqu'au fond des Indes, et du Mont Caucase aux frontières de l'Ethiopie. Cependant tout modique qu'il étoit, les Perses regrettoient encore les règnes heureux de Cyrus et de Cambyse qui ne soutenoient leur grandeur que par les dons gratuits de leurs sujets. Mais se persuadera-t-on qu'un

V. Hooper, p. 305–309.

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qu'un grand prince, qu'un législateur, qu'un Cyrus n'ait pas compris, que les besoins d'un grand royaume demandoient des secours généraux, et que toutes les nations étoient accoutumées à remplir ce devoir légitime envers l'autorité qui les protégeoit? Veut-on qu'il ait réalisé une idée qui n'éblouit qu'un Néron dans l'accès passager d'une folle bonté? Ces difficultés redoublent notre embarras, mais elles pourroient l'éclaircir. Xénophon, qui dans son roman philosophique a conservé beaucoup de mœurs vraies et de faits curieux, pourroit adoucir la rigueur de cette expression d'Hérodote. Cyrus se contentoit d'exiger les tributs nécessaires pour soutenir les charges publiques. Bien loin d'amasser des trésors, il prodiguoit à ses soldats ceux de Sardis et de Babylone; et lorsqu'un besoin imprévu demandoit des secours extraordinaires, Crésus apprit de lui que la bourse de nos amis est le coffre fort le plus assuré. Darius changea de méthode. Il eut peut-être raison. Cette indulgence de Cyrus devenoit un nouveau moyen d'oppression dans un état despotique trop accoutumé déjà à ne voir que des volontés particulières à la place des loix générales. Ce revenu d'Hérodote n'est que l'excédent de la dépense publique, une somme destinée à former le trésor royal qui ne s'ouvroit que pour les besoins extraordinaires de la monarchie. Avant que de l'envoyer à Suse les satrapes avoient déjà pourvu aux appointemens des officiers, à l'entretien des troupes, et à tous les travaux publics. 6. Un autre endroit de notre historien m'a permis de conjecturer à combien la masse entière des revenus pouvoit

Xenophon. Cyropæ. l. viii. p. 583. 638–642.

Herodot. l. i. c. 192.

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pouvoit se monter. Il s'étend avec complaisance sur les richesses du grand gouvernement de Babylone qui rendoit chaque jour à son satrape *une artabe* d'argent. Il s'explique. Une artabe étoit une mesure creuse de ce pays-là égale au medimnus Athénien et à trois *chenices* $\frac{1}{16}$ du medimnus. Nous savons que le medimnus contenoit 72 grosses mines. L'artabe contenoit 76½ grosses mines égales à 91,8 mines de Solon. Dans la construction du poids on n'a rempli cette mesure que d'eau pure. L'argent pèse dix fois et demie autant que le même volume d'eau. L'artabe de Babylone remplie d'argent valoit 16 talens 3 mines et 90 drachmes. Si nous multiplions ce revenu journalier par 360, nous aurons un résultat de 5783 talens Attiques, = 4957 talens Babyloniens, par an. Tel étoit le tribut que la province de Babylone payoit à son satrape; mais le roi n'en retiroit que 1000 talens, c'est à dire la cinquième partie. Si nous établissons cette proportion dans tout l'empire nous lui donnerons un revenu de plus de seize millions de livres sterling. Je crois que Babylone nous offre un terme moyen assez heureux. Au centre de l'empire, mais habité par un peuple toujours porté à la révolte, les dépenses publiques y auront été bien supérieure à celles de quelques cantons riches et pacifiques, mais très inférieures à l'entretien de ces armées nombreuses qui défendoient les provinces frontières. 7. Tel étoit le revenu que ces monarques recevoient en argent, mais ils jouissoient encore de plusieurs droits très lucratifs. Chaque province étoit obligée de leur envoyer tous les ans

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ce qu'elle produisoit de plus précieux. Leur maison nombreuse, femmes, eunuques, et gardes, vivoient aux frais du pays où ils faisoient leur résidence. La satrapie de Babylone avoit l'honneur d'entretenir le roi pendant quatre mois de l'année, et de lui nourrir un haras de huit cens chevaux, de seize mille jumens, aussi bien qu'un très grand nombre de ses chiens Indiens. Quatre villages n'étoient chargés que de leur entretien.

Section III.

La province de Babylone donnoit aussi 500 beaux eunuques tous les ans. La Cilicie lui envoyoit 360 chevaux blancs. Les Ethiopiens apportoient à ses pieds de l'or, de l'ivoire et de l'ébène: les Arabes lui envoyoient de l'encens. Le tribut de ceux de Colchos consistoit en 100 garçons et 100 filles qu'ils amenoient tous les cinq ans au sérail du grand roi. Les beautés Circassiennes ont toujours été renommées dans l'orient. Je passe sous silence toutes les corvées des peuples, le service militaire, les chevaux, les vaisseaux, &c. qu'ils devoient au roi. 8. Les Perses eux-mêmes n'étoient point tributaires. Il semble que Cyrus avoit employé les armes d'une nation libre pour subjuguer l'Asie; mais qu'il n'osa jamais confondre les vaincus avec les vainqueurs. Ce phénomène, si rare dans l'orient, s'accorde très bien avec cette république Persanne que Xénophon nous a décrite. 9. Les Egyptiens donnoient pour l'entretien des 120,000 Persans qui étoient en garnison

Herodot. l. iii. p. 90. 92. 97.

Idem. 97. V. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 7–18. edit. Hutchins. Oxon. 1727.

Herodot. l. iii. c. 9.

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garnison à Memphis, 700 talens de bled. J'ignore pourquoi on a voulu apprécier le bled plutôt que le mesurer. Mais assurément c'étoit le prix commun. Si nous donnons à chaque soldat un quartier et demi par an,* nous aurons 180,000 quartiers de bled et 180,350 livres sterling. Le quartier étoit au prix d'une livre sterling. C'est la moitié du prix actuel.

Dans le commencement les Romains tailloient 40 pièces d'or à la livre. Comme il ne nous en reste aucune qui approche de ce poids, j'approuverois assez la conjecture de Snellius et d'Agricola qui lisent 42 au lieu de quarante : peu à peu les princes en diminuoient le poids jusqu'à 48 à la livre. Telle est la leçon d'un excellent MS. du Collège de Baliol, au lieu de 48. Les Romains avoient adopté la proportion élégante des Grecs. L'aureus pesoit 2 drachmes, et flottoit entre 42 et 48, comme la drachme ou denier flottoit entre 84 et 96. Il nous reste effectivement des aurei de Jules César de 124½ grains, et d'autres de Néron de 108½ grains. Dans le siècle suivant le denier prit un état plus assuré de 8 à l'once, mais l'aureus se soutenoit un peu mieux et différoit peu de celui des premiers empereurs. Galliène et les tyrans ses contemporains le réduisirent à 75 grains. Il ne s'en est jamais relevé. Il semble qu'on a toujours compté 25 deniers à la didrachme d'or. La proportion de l'or à l'argent étoit de 12½ à 1. On ne risque pas beaucoup en appréciant cet aureus du Haut Empire à 0,9 d'une livre sterling, c'est à dire 18 chelins.

Greaves, tom. i. p. 132, 313. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 3.

Greaves, tom. i. p. 320, 321.

Id. p. 329, 330.

* Les Grecs ne donnoient qu'un chœnix par jour ; les Romains quatre modii par mois.

Con-

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Constantin voulut fonder un nouvel empire. Partout il changea les choses et jusqu'aux noms. Au mois de Juillet de l'an 325, il établit un nouveau système dans les monnoies. On tailloit 72 aurei à la livre d'or, 60 milliaresions à la livre d'argent, et douze *follis* à la livre de cuivre. L'aureus ou solidus valoit douze milliaresions, et le milliaresion 24 follis. L'or étoit par conséquent à l'argent comme 1 à 14⅔, et l'argent au cuivre comme 1 à 120. Le follis de cuivre se partageoit en quatre petites pièces, nommées assarion, lepton, et quadrans; c'étoit le fameux as qui ne valoit plus que le quart de l'once de cuivre.

V. les Mém. de M. Dupuis dans le xxviii^me^ tome de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

			s.	d.
L'aureus, ou sous d'or	=	73 grains=055487=	11	1
Le milliaresion d'argent	=	88 grains= 00466=	0	11
Le follis de cuivre	=	438 grains=000193=	0	0 11/24
L'assarion de cuivre	=	109½ grains=000038=	0	0 11/96

La livre d'or étoit une monnoie de compte fort usitée sous les successeurs de Constantin: on peut l'apprécier à 40 *liv. sterling*.

V. Hooper, p. 147. Dupuis, Mém. de l'Acad. tom. xxviii. p. 704. Æl. Lampid. in Alex. Sever. c. 22. Fl. Vopisc. in Aurelian. c. 9. et Commentar. Salmasii.

Le période qui s'est écoulé depuis les Gordiens jusqu'à Constantin est rempli de difficultés. On voit en général que le denier, qui remonta au poids de l'ancienne drachme Attique (68 grains), avoit reçu le nom de lepton ou de minutus, par contradistinction avec le denier encore plus pesant qu'on donnoit aux soldats, et qui pesoit les ⅛ du milliaresion de Constantin, c'est à dire 77 grains. On s'est beaucoup disputé sur les leptons de cuivre. Je pense que depuis le commencement du huitième siècle ce nom général a toujours désigné l'as ou assarion. Je ne fais qu'indiquer deux autres sens du mot follis. Il désignoit, 1. Un poids de

250

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250 deniers, c'est à dire la nouvelle libre sesterce ou deux argyres et demi. 2. Une bourse de 125 milliaresions ; c'étoit la donative ordinaire des soldats. Il a même un troisième sens ; 3. ce qu'on nommoit aussi gleba senatoria ; la capitation de chaque sénateur. Les plus riches payoient huit livres d'or par an (320 *l. s.*), les moins aisés quatre (160 *l. s.*), et les plus pauvres deux (80 *l. s.*)

L'établissement de Constantin se soutint (du moins de l'Orient) pendant plus de six siècles et demi : et lorsque Nicéphore Phocas monta sur le trône, l'aureus pesoit encore une sextule ou la sixième partie de l'once. Ce prince avare fit frapper des τεταρτηρον, quartarii, d'un poids plus léger et dont il se servoit pour payer ses troupes, &c. pendant que dans les tributs il exigeoit toujours l'aureus de Constantin. Ce récit de Zonare est un peu obscur. On a pris le mot de τεταρτηρον en trois sens différens : 1. Que Nicéphore ne changea rien au poids, mais que ces quatre aurei en valoient autant que six, c'est à dire d'une once d'or. 2. Que l'aureus de Nicéphore ne pesoit que le quart de celui de Constantin, 18¼ grains. 3. Que Nicéphore ne diminua que d'un quart l'ancien aureus qui pesoit 73 grains. Le sien n'en pesoit que 54¾ ou la huitième partie de l'once Romaine. Ce dernier sentiment, qui est celui de Saumaise, me paroît le seul vraisemblable. Il semble que l'aureus de Nicéphore (connu par les Latins sous le nom du bezant d'or, c'est à dire aureus Byzantinus) a subsisté sans beaucoup d'altération jusqu'à la chute de l'empire de Constantinople.

V. Salmas. Comment. in Hist. August. Lutet. 1620. p. 217.

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Lips. de Magnit. Roman. l. ii. c. 7. p. 63. Edit. Plant. 1598.

Zonare nous apprend que l'empereur Basile (dans le neuvième siècle) avoit rassemblé un trésor immense, puis qu'on y comptoit 200,000 talens d'or, sans compter des richesses incroyables en argent et en pierreries. Cet endroit est trop favorable à la grandeur Romaine pour ne pas plaire à Juste Lipse. Mais voyons de quoi il est question. A n'employer que le plus petit talent, et la proportion la moins forte, nous trouverons en or seulement, 352,000,000 *l. s.* Plutôt que de recuser l'autorité de Zonare, pensons que (par un purisme de rhéteur et qui rehaussoit encore son pays aux yeux des étrangers) il a employé le mot de talent, au lieu de ce terme à demi barbare de *litra*, livre d'or. Les 200,000 livres d'or sont égales à 8,000,000 *l. s.* Ce trésor est grand sans être incroyable.

Id. p. 64.

Benjamin de Tudèle, qui visita Constantinople vers la fin du douzième siècle, parle avec étonnement des trésors qui la rendoient la ville la plus riche de l'univers. Le seul revenu que le prince en tiroit se montoit à 20,000 aurei par jour, environ 3,000,000 *l. s.* par an. Je méprise, comme je le dois, l'autorité de Benjamin, mais je croirois sans peine qu'il y a un grand fond de vérité dans ces exagérations.

Vie de Julien, par l'Abbé de la Bleterie, à Paris, 1746. p. 131–140.

Lorsque Julien parut dans les Gaules en qualité de César il trouva cette grande province ruinée par les barbares et encore plus par les traitans. La capitation se montoit à 25 aurei par tête, et quoiqu'elle suffit pour tous les besoins de la guerre, les officiers de l'empereur vouloient encore l'augmenter. Ce dernier coup, que Julien sut parer, eût accablé

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cablé ce malheureux peuple. Julien, devenu empereur, réduisit la capitation de 25 aurei par tête (13 *l. s.* 17*s.*) à sept aurei (3 *l. s.* 17*s.* 7*d.*). Cet impôt, sur le pied même de la réduction, nous paroît énorme. Il n'y avoit que les chefs de familles qui le payassent. De ceux-ci il y en a 4,000,000 dans la France moderne, beaucoup plus petite que la Gaule ancienne. Ce dénombrement nous donneroit une somme impossible (100,000,000 aurei, 55,400,000 *l. s.*). Mais lorsqu'on excluoit tous ceux qui en étoient exempts, et surtout cette nation d'esclaves bien plus nombreuse que celle des hommes libres, il ne restoit peut-être pas 500,000 contribuables. Je me sers de ce calcul de l'Abbé du Bos. Il ne peut pêcher que par sa foiblesse, et je me ménage volontiers une occasion de céder quelque chose sur la population peut-être excessive qu'on attribue à ce pays dans le quatrième siècle. L'impôt de Constance nous donnera 12,500,000 aurei, près de 7,000,000 *l. s.* celui de Julien 3,500,000 aurei, près de 2,000,000 *l. s.* Ajoutons à ce calcul quelques réflexions.

Annales Politiq. de l'Abbé de St. Pierre, tom. i. p. 17.

1. Depuis les conquêtes des Romains jusqu'au règne de Caracalla, on distinguoit entre les citoyens Romains et les provinciaux. Ceux-ci, qu'on nommoit tributaires, payoient la capitation. Le citoyen en étoit exempt, mais cette même qualité l'assujettissoit à quelques impositions dont le provincial étoit déchargé, et surtout aux deux vingtièmes, l'un sur les héritages et l'autre sur l'affranchissement des esclaves. Les douanes étoient com-

V. Burman. de Vectigal. Pop. Romani. Leyd. 1734. passim: et Just. Lips. de Magnitud. Rom. l. ii. c. 1—7. Burman. c.x. xi. Dion. Cass. Excer. Burman. p. 174.

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communes à Rome et aux provinces. 2. Caracalla étendit la bourgeoisie Romaine dans le dessein d'augmenter ses revenus; mais par une injustice digne de ce tyran et de ses successeurs, la capitation passa en Italie, les deux vingtièmes dans les provinces, et chaque sujet soutenoit le fardeau redoublé de provincial et de Romain. 3. La capitation devint bientôt l'impôt favori des empereurs. Le despotisme se complaît dans un genre d'imposition qui ne connoît de bornes que celles de l'impuissance absolue. Mais M. Hume se trompe lorsqu'il dit que Constantin supprima la plûpart des impôts pour établir à leur place une capitation universelle. Les douanes, les deux vingtièmes, la gabelle, &c. subsistoient encore. 4. Il paroît que dans le commencement on fixoit une capitation inégale par son égalité apparente. Les Juifs payoient deux drachmes par tête. Les pères et les maîtres payoient pour leur famille entière. Dans la suite on chercha à apprécier la naissance, le rang, et la fortune, surtout en fonds de terre: ce qui rendoit la taille à la fois réelle et personnelle. Je crois entrevoir la méthode qu'on suivoit. Les ministres avoient sous les yeux le recensement de tous les contribuables d'une province. Ils imposoient cette capitation générale et hypothèque de tant d'aurei par tête. Les officiers de l'empereur, ou les décurions des villes, en faisoient la répartition dans la proportion qu'exigeoient les facultés de chacun. Lorsque Constantin remit aux citoyens d'Autun 6000 contribuables il leur remit effectivement près du quart de la capitation. Si l'on ajoute aux sept millions

Philosophical Essays.

V. Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. tom. iv. P. i. p. 187.

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millions de Constance les autres charges dont j'ai supprimé la moitié on sera peu surpris de ces fréquentes remises de tribut.

It appears from the Author's arrangement of the subject, that he proposed to have given a statistic account of the several countries in the following order :

La Grande Bretagne,
La France et les Pays Bas,
L'Allemagne, la Suisse et le Nord,
L'Italie et l'Espagne,
L'Orient, les Indes, &c. &c.

The first article, viz. Great Britain, Mr. Gibbon seems to have postponed, and only a few notes respecting it have been found among his papers. Indeed the remainder of this division appears incomplete; and the accounts of the respective countries seem to have been kept open for the insertion of any information or observations that might occur.

IV.

LA FRANCE ET LES PAYS BAS.

JE suis fâché de ne pouvoir pas donner une table chronologique des variations de la *livre Tournois* depuis Charlemagne jusqu'au Régent. Je n'attendrai qu'à la première occasion. Je sais cependant que pendant la dernière moitié du quinzième siècle le marc, qui vaut cinquante livres, n'en valoit que dix. Aujourd'hui le change varie, mais

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en général on peut évaluer la livre sterling à 22*l.* 10*s.* Tournois, et en gros 100*l.* Tournois à 4*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

Ph. de Com. tom. v. p. 19. Charles VII. n'a jamais levé sur ses peuples que 1,800,000 *l.* de tailles (9,000,000 *l. T.* 405,000 *l. s.*) Louis XI. à la fin de son règne en levoit 4,700,000 sans compter l'artillerie et choses semblables (23,500,000 *l. T.* 1,045,000 *l. s.*). Après sa mort les états les réduisirent à 2,500,000 livres (12,500,000 *l. T.* 562,500 *l. s.*). C'étoit encore beaucoup et plutôt trop que trop peu. On ne les augmenta point Id. viii. 25. sous Charles VIII. Ce prince avoit même formé le dessein de les réduire à 1,200,000 *l.* pour la défénse du royaume (6,000,000 *l. T.* 270,000 *l. s.*) et de vivre, à l'exemple de ses prédécesseurs, de son domaine. Ce domaine bien administré (y compris la gabelle et quelques aides) pouvoit rendre jusques Hist. Gen. t. ii. p. 250. 1,000,000*l.* (5,000,000 *l. T.* 225,000 *l. s.*). Sur cet exposé on voit combien Voltaire s'est trompé lorsqu'il voulut donner cet effort tyrannique et passager de Louis XI. comme la règle constante des revenus de France à la fin du quinzième siècle.

Id. vi. 7. Louis XI. établit un camp de 20,000 fantassins (il y avoit 6000 Suisses et 2,500 pionniers) et de 1,500 gens d'armes. Ce camp coûtoit 1,500,000 *l.* (7,500,000 *l. T.* 337,500 *l. s.*) par an. A sa mort il avoit en tout 4 à 5000 gens d'armes et 25,000 fantassins, tant pour le camp que les mortes-payes. Charles VII. n'avoit jamais eu que 1,700 hommes d'armes d'ordonnance.

Ce dernier détail paroît étranger à ce recueil. Il ne l'est point. Il y a toujours trois choses à considérer:

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considérer: 1. La valeur intrinsèque de l'argent, son poids, et son titre. 2. Sa valeur proportionnelle à celle des denrées. 3. Sa valeur relative. C'est le rapport des personnes plutôt que celui des choses. Dans l'économie politique l'argent ne sert qu'à acheter des denrées; les denrées qu'à nourrir des hommes; et les hommes qu'à soutenir la grandeur et la puissance des états. Si Louis XI. étoit aussi redoutable à son peuple et à ses voisins avec une armée de 30,000 hommes que Louis XV. peut l'être avec 150,000, celui-là étoit (sous ce point de vue) cinq fois plus riche que son successeur. Selon une ordonnance de Louis XI. le taux de l'argent qui devoit avoir cours en France étoit fixé de la manière qui s'ensuit: Ph. de C. tom. iv. p. 429.

	Sous.	D.
Ecus de France (de 118½, plutôt 115½, au marc d'or)	33	
Ecus, ou Lyons de Flandre	38	9
Ecus de Bretagne	30	6
Nobles d'Angleterre	73	4

L'écu de Flandre (par lequel il faut compter les revenus du Duc de Bourgogne) valoit donc 9*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*

En 1470, Charles Duc de Bourgogne n'avoit que des milices qu'on nommoit gens à gages mesnagers; mais les états du pays, jaloux de son autorité, lui accordèrent cependant 120,000 par an pour entretenir 800 lances (1,162,500 *l. T.* 52,312 *l. s.* 10*s.*). Dans la suite il augmenta cette somme à 500,000 écus (4,843,750 *l. T.* 215,969 *l. s.* 2*s.* 6*d.*). Philippe le Bon tenoit une cour magnifique Id. iii. 1. Id. iii. 3. Id. iv. 13.

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et laissa beaucoup de choses de prix, avec 300,000 écus (2,898,750 *l.T.* 130,781 *l. s.* 5*s.*) Charles en leva d'abord 350,000 (3,381,875 *l.T.* 152,478 *l. s.*). Enfin il leva jusqu'à 650,000 écus par an, sans y comprendre la Bourgogne (6,380,625*l.T.* 283,229*l. s.* 10*s.*)

Ph. de C. tom. i. 13.

Du tems de Louis XI. la Normandie a payé jusqu'à 950,000 francs par an (4,750,000 *l. T.* 213,750 *l. s.*)

Table abrégée des Monnoies de France, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIV, tirée du Livre de M. le Blanc, p. 313 *et suiv.*

Règnes.	Années.	Prix du Marc d'argent. £.	s.	d.	Valeur de la Livre en argent d'Angleterre. £.	s.	d.
Charlemagne -	800	⅓ d'une livre			3	6	7½
Louis VI. - -	1144	2 livres			1	2	2½
	1158	2	14	0	0	16	6
Philippe le Bel -	1293	3	0	0	0	14	9¾
	1303	6	0	0	0	7	4½
	1305	8	10	0			
	1313	2	14	0			
	1322	4	0	0			
	1326	5	0	0			
	1328	6	0	0			
	1330	2	18	0			
	1338	5	0	0			
	1339	6	15	0			
	1340	7	0	0			
	1342	13	10	0			
	1360	6	0	0			
	1417	8	0	0			
	1447	8	10	0			
	1473	10	0	0			

1488

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Années.	£,	s.	d.
1488	11	0	0
1513	12	10	0
1540	14	5	0
1561	15	10	0
1573	17	0	0
1580	19	0	0
1602	20	5	4
1636	25	0	0
1641	26	10	0
1679	29	7	0

V.

L'ALLEMAGNE, LA SUISSE ET LE NORD.

La livre de Strasbourg contient environ quinze onces et demie de la livre de Paris, proprement comme 8804 à 9216.

La livre de Nuremberg est à celle de Paris comme 4797 à 4608.

Le marc ou demie livre de Cologne contient 8 onces, 16 lots, et 4864 grains; il est à celui de Paris comme 2201 à 2304. On se sert généralement dans l'empire de ce marc lorsqu'il s'agit des monnoies, et particulièrement des anciens goulden ou florins du Rhin. M. Eisenschmidt, qui a examiné cette affaire avec beaucoup d'exactitude, nous rapporte à cet effet une résolution de diette de l'an 1559. Aussi les Allemands l'appellent par excellence le marc d'argent. Notre auteur pense qu'anciennement toutes les villes du Rhin avoient convenu d'un poids commun qui ne s'est conservé qu'à Cologne, pendant qu'il s'altéroit partout ailleurs.

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Tschudi, P. ii. l. x. p. 157.

En 1425, le corps Helvétique (à la réserve des Bernois) fit une ordonnance générale sur les monnoies dont on remit la fabrication à Zurich et Lucerne. Ce règlement devoit subsister cinquante ans. Ce qu'il y a de plus important est heureusement ce qu'il y a de plus clair. Le marc d'argent valoit 7 florins du Rhin: selon la proportion du marc de Paris à celui de Cologne nous avons 23 50 *l.T.*:: 22 48 *l.T.* environ; le marc de Cologne valoit donc à peu près 42 chelins sterling. C'est à raison de 6 chelins au florin du Rhin.

De Watteville, tom. ii. p. 56.

Il y a quelques difficultés dans les détails, surtout à l'égard du marc de Zurich qui doit avoir été très foible. Cependant on y voit qu'un florin contenoit 30 schillings de Stebler pfenning, et 360 de ces Stebler pfennings, petite monnoie de cuivre fort usitée en Suisse. C'étoient le schilling et le pfenning les plus communs; mais il y en avoit de ceux-ci qu'on nommoit Angster ou Antlit pfenning. Il y en avoit 45 au florin, et leur schilling n'en contenoit que trois. Nous connoissons aussi les plaphart dont 24 faisoient un florin.

Voici en général le taux des monnoies:

	Schillings Stebler pfenning.
Un florin du Rhin	30
Un écu de France, ducat ou florin Hongrois	38
Un florin d'or de Gènes, de Florence, ou de la Chambre Apostolique	37

Tschudi, P. ii. l. xii. p. 473.

On voit par un autre endroit que la livre de compte usitée en Suisse dans le quinzième siècle valoit 10¾ plapharts, environ 2*s*. 8*d*. d'Angleterre.

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En 1384 la ville de Berne étoit accablie de dettes, elles montoient à 100,000 florins, 30,000 *l. s.*; pour lesquelles elle payoit en général le 10 pour cent. Ses projets ambitieux, ses troupes, et ses acquisitions l'avoient plongé dans ces difficultés. Elle venoit de payer la comté de Berthou 30,800 florins, 9240 *l. s.* Déjà les intérêts s'accumuloient et le crédit public commençoit à chanceler, lorsque la bourgeoisie prit une résolution vigoureuse, déposa les conseillers qui avoient mal-régi les finances, et s'imposa une taxe par serment de la quarantième partie de leurs biens. La république fut bientôt libérée. Tschudi, P. ii. l. xii. p. 510, 511.

En 1414 l'empereur Sigismond vint à Berne où il fut très bien reçu. Toute la bourgeoisie alla à sa rencontre; on lui offrit les clefs de la ville; on meubla pour sa réception le couvent des Dominicains; et on le régala magnifiquement pendant deux jours aux frais de la ville; lui et toute sa suite, au nombre de 800 chevaux, aussi bien que celle du comté de Savoye qui en avoit 600. Cette réception coûta 2000 florins aux Bernois, 600 *l.* et leur fit beaucoup d'honneur. On y voit que la ville avoit déjà sa vaisselle d'argent, et des tapisseries brodies en or et en argent. Quelques années après, les prélats de la cour de Martin V. qui comparoient l'abondance de Berne avec la lésine des Genevois, disoient souvent, " Non sumus Bernæ sed Gehennæ."

VI.

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VI.

L'ITALIE ET L'ESPAGNE.

SELON Greaves l'once Espagnole est égale à 540½ grains de Paris=450 grains Anglois. On y compte 16 onces à la livre.

Hooper, p. 15, 16. Villalpandus, Espagnol de naissance, qui connoissoit très bien les poids Romains, nous assure que l'once d'Espagne est égale à celle de Rome qui a toujours subsisté sans altération. Toutes les deux seroient égales à 438 grains Anglois=525 grains de Paris. Les Romains ont introduits leurs poids en Espagne avec leurs loix et leur langue. Lorsque les Arabes ont subjugué ce pays les Espagnols, toujours soumis à leurs vainqueurs, ont conservé l'once Romaine, mais en substituant à la livre de 12 onces une autre livre de 16 onces=7008 grains Angl. et qui ne représentoit pas mal le ratel du Caire ou la mine Attique, puisqu'elle nous rend la proportion connue de 4 à 3.

V. British Negociator, p. 181. Dans les lieux de commerce en Espagne on tient les livres en piastres ou dollars, reals et maravedis.

34 maravedis	=	1 real.
8 reaux	=	1 piastre.
11 reaux, 1 maravedi	=	1 ducat.

Le maravedi et le ducat d'échange ne sont que des monnoies de compte. Voici la valeur de leur monnoie.

En

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En cuivre.		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Le maravedi	=	0	0	$0\frac{43}{272}$
Le quartillo ou ochavo	=	0	0	$0\frac{43}{136}$
Le quarto	=	0	0	$0\frac{43}{68}$
En argent.				
Le real	=	0	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Le piastre, dollar	=	0	3	7
Le dollar de Seville	=	0	4	6
En or.				
Le ducat	=	0	4	$11\frac{77}{272}$
Le pistole	=	0	17	11

Il y a encore des pistoles doubles et quadruples, des moitiés, quarts, &c. des dollars du Pérou de 4*s.* 5*d.*, des dollars au pilier de 4*s.* $6\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, et des dollars à la croix de 4*s.* $4\frac{3}{4}$*d.*

Cet état actuel des espèces en Espagne, ne peut s'appliquer qu'aux derniers siècles. Je vais rapporter quelques faits, j'espère un jour d'y ajouter les calculs.

En 1576, la cour d'Espagne travailloit toujours à la conversion des Maures, qui n'étoient encore chrétiens que par le baptême forcé qu'ils avoient reçu plus de 50 ans auparavant. Grégoire XIII. imposa sur toutes les églises d'Espagne une pension générale pour bonnifier les cures des villages Morisques. L'Archevêque de Valence fut taxé à 3600 ducats par an. L'événement fut des plus simples. Tout le clergé décida qu'il ne falloit pas espérer de convertir les Maures, et l'archevêque proposa,

V. History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, Geddes's Tracts, vol. i. p. 51—143—161.

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proposa, avec le zèle le plus désintéressé, de les chasser. On suivit son conseil, (malgré toute l'opposition des barons,) et ce conseil coûta 140,000 habitans au royaume de Valence et 600,000 sujets pour le moins à la monarchie d'Espagne.

V. View of two Castilian Cortes, Geddes's Tracts, vol. i. p. 317—343.

Les Goths ont porté en Espagne le gouvernement de leur patrie et ces principes de liberté qui ont toujours distingué les nations du nord. L'assemblée de la nation se nommoit Cortes. Elle étoit composée vers la fin du quatrième siècle des prélats, des barons, des ricoshombes ou gentilshommes, et des deputés des villes qu'on appelloit procurateurs; ceux-ci (dans le royaume de Castille) consistoient en 124 députés de 48 villes; Burgos et Salamanca en avoient 8; Toledo et Leon, 5; Zamora, Valladolid, &c. 4; Seville et Cordoue, 3; Madrid, 2. Je soupçonne néanmoins qu'à bien des égards cette proportion a bientôt cessé d'être juste. Tout ce Cortes ne formoit qu'une chambre, et le premier noble (le Seigneur de Lara) y portoit ordinairement la parole. Je ne veux pas m'étendre sur ses droits: elle avoit celui de mettre des impôts; droit qui renferme tous les autres.

En 1390, les Cortes obligèrent la régence (qu'ils donnèrent à leur jeune roi Henri II.) de remettre la monnoie à son ancienne valeur que le feu roi avoit augmentée. Ils fixèrent le nombre des troupes réglées à 4000 soldats de garnison et à 1,500 genets ou chevaux.

En 1406, Henri II. de Castille voulut faire la guerre au roi de Grenade. Il demanda à son Cortes de quoi entretenir 4000 genets, 10,000 lances et 50,000

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50,000 fantassins, avec une flotte de 30 galères et 50 vaisseaux, et un train d'artillerie qui comprenoit 6 gros canons, douze beliers de fer, 6000 chariots, &c. On supputa que cet armement demanderoit, pour six mois, 100,200,000 maravedis: on trouva cette somme trop forte. Le Cortes ne voulut ajouter qu'un tiers aux deux autres que le Roi pourroit trouver dans le revenu de son domaine et dans le trésor d'Oviedo. Le roi allégua vainement qu'il les employoit déjà à soudoyer des étrangers. Il fut obligé de céder à l'inflexibilité des Cortes, qui ne virent cependant pas le danger d'une concession qu'ils firent. Ils autorisèrent le roi à completter cette somme par des levées arbitraires, si la taxe n'y suffisoit pas. On ne lui donna ce droit que pour une année, mais ses successeurs ont souvent abusé de cet exemple dangereux.

Lorsque Charles V. parvint à la couronne d'Espagne, les ministres Flamans qui la gouvernoient excitèrent bientôt les murmures des Castillans. Ils se plaignoient qu'en moins d'une année les étrangers avoient fait dans les Pays-Bas plus de 1,100,000 ducats. V. History of the Wars of the Commons of Castile, Geddes's Tracts, tom. i. p. 215.

La cour de ce prince étoit très magnifique. Dans neuf mois qu'il passa en Catalogne il dépensa plus de 1,000,000 ducats de Castille qui étoient plus fortes que les livres Catalanes. Id. p. 220.

Toute cette conduite produisit une guerre civile où les peuples de Castille essayèrent sans succès de soutenir leurs droits. Charles Quint vainqueur assembla les cortes à Valladolid en 1522. Cette assemblée lui accorda un subside de 4,000,000 ducats Id. p. 313.

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cats qu'on devoit acquitter dans le terme de trois ans. Elle se désista même enfin du plus beau de ses privilèges, de celui de faire marcher toujours les plaintes des peuples avant les demandes du prince.

V. History of the Wars of the Commons of Castile, Geddes's Tracts, tom. i. p. 290.

Les peuples se plaignoient pendant la guerre, que les rois avoient fait de si grandes aliénations de leur domaine en faveur des nobles que dans une étendue de 100 lieues entre Valladolid et Compostelle il ne leur restoit que trois villes en propre. Leur pauvreté les obligeoit à demander chaque jours de nouveaux subsides.

Eisenschmidt, p. 15.

Voici les poids principaux usités dans ce pays:

	Grains.
L'once de Paris	576
——— de Londres . . .	585½
——— de Venise	562½
——— de Naples	503
——— de Florence et Pise .	537
——— de Sienne	526
——— de Gènes	494
——— d'Espagne	540⅓

Muratori Diss. xxvii. et xxviii.

La livre est partout de 12 onces, hormis en Espagne.

M. Muratori a traité les monnoies d'Italie plutôt pour la partie numismatique, que pour l'économique. Voici cependant ce que j'en ai recueilli: 1. Il nous reste encore des pièces des rois Goths et Lombards, et des Ducs de Naples et de Beneventum. Les Papes commencèrent à avoir leur monnoie du temps de Charlemagne, pendant le douzième et le treizème siècle ils n'en ont point battu.

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battu. Le droit des Vénétiens remonta au moins jusqu'au dixième siècle. Peu à peu les empereurs l'accordèrent aux princes et aux villes libres. On en compte plus de cinquante qui ont joui de ce privilège. 2. Quant aux monnoies d'or nous trouvons avant et depuis Charlemagne le sous d'or qui valoit la vingtième partie d'une livre, *i. e.* 1 *l. s.* 16 *s.* Je pense qu'ils étoient fort rares; et le maneusus, dont 20 valoient, en 1014, cinquante sous (d'argent), c'est à dire le maneusus pouvoit valoir 7*s.* 6*d.* Malgré toutes les fables qu'on s'est plu à débiter, on sait que le premier florin d'or n'a été battu qu'à Florence en 1252. Sa finesse et le commerce des Florentins, le répandirent bientôt, et plusieurs princes songèrent à l'imiter, en conservant le nom, et même l'impression de Florence. Le Pape Jean XXII. se distingua en excommuniant les faux monnoyeurs, dont il étoit lui-même le premier. On tailloit 8 florins à l'once d'or, qui étoit à celle d'argent comme 12 à 1. Le florin de Florence valoit à peu près 7 chelins d'Angleterre. Le ducat, ou sequin de Venise, et le marabotino d'Espagne, en différoient peu. La byzantine en valoit les deux tiers 4*s.* 8*d.* Mais il nous faudroit un bon commentaire sur ce tableaux curieux mais obscur que le Nonce Cabrospini nous a laissé des monnoies du quatorzième siècle. 3. Un passage de Matthieu Paris nous apprend qu'en 1249 la livre impériale, égale à la livre sterling et à la livre d'argent, avoit conservé sa première valeur de 3 *l. s.* Voici quelques rapports que M. Muratori m'a fournis.

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1212. La livre impériale=3 livres de Boulogne, de Parme ou de Ferrare=$\frac{3}{4}$ livres de Boulogne, &c.=1*l. s.*

1292. Un florin d'or=livre d'Aste=7*s.*

1295. 866$\frac{2}{3}$ florins=650 livres *Provisionorum* (de Rome)=livre Provisionorum=9*s.* 4*d.*

1270. 600 livres de Bresse=1000 florins.
livre de Bresse =10*s.* 10*d.*

1300, &c. 100,000 livres de Gènes=125,000 florins.
livre de Gènes =8*s.* 9*d.*

Giovanni Musso apud Muratori Diss. xxiii.

En 1388, 480 livres impériales ne valurent plus en Italie que 300 florins. Cette livre valoit ainsi 4*s.* 4½*d.* à peu près la quatorzième partie d'une livre. Cette chute paroîtroit étonnante à qui ne se rappelleroit pas les troubles d'Italie, et les besoins continuels des empereurs. Entre l'an 1320—1388 le luxe s'étoit plutôt augmenté à Plaisance que les moyens de le soutenir. Selon la relation d'un citoyen contemporain, il étoit effectivement poussé assez loin, mais suivant le gôut Italien, plus pour la parure que pour la table. Les hommes et les femmes portoient des robes de drap de soie, de camelot, de velours, et même de drap d'or; des colliers et des brasselets d'or, et des ceintures enrichies de perles dont l'once valoit 10 florins d'or (3*l.* 10*s.*). Une robe (ils les appellent cabanus, barillottus, ou pelarda) coûtoit souvent de 25 à 60 florins (8*l.* 15*s.*—21*l.*). Telle dame portoit une ceinture de 25 florins (8*l.* 15*s.*) et autant de bagues qu'elles en valoient 50 (17*l.* 10*s.*). Toutes ces robes étoient larges et trainantes. L'auteur blame l'indécence de ces habits de femmes qu'on appelloit Cyprianæ, qui ne cachoient point leur sein, et encore plus courts et trop justes des hommes *qui ostendunt formam naticarum*

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ticarum genitalium et membri. Les carosses étoient inconnus, mais depuis quelque temps l'usage du vin s'étoit répandu, et celui des cheminées s'étoit introduit. 400, 500, ou 600 florins (120*l.* 150*l.* 180*l.*) étoit la dot commune d'une fille. Mais le mari y gagnoit peu. Il étoit obligé à la dépenser, et même à y ajouter une centaine de florins (30*l.*) pour équiper sa femme, et pour faire les noces. La dépense d'un homme qui avoit deux chevaux et neuf bouches dans sa famille pouvoit aller à 300 florins (90*l.*). Les gages d'un domestique nourri, mais point habillé, étoient 12 florins (4*l.* 4*s.*) pour un homme, et 7 (2*l.* 9*s.*) pour une femme. L'auteur de ce tableau curieux s'appelloit Giovanni Musso. Muratori a donné sa chronique de Plaisance parmi les Scriptores Rerum Italicarum.

VI.

L'ORIENT, LES INDES, &c.

La rupée est une monnoie d'argent du Grand Mogol et très commune dans tout l'Hindostan. Son poids est de 7*dw.* 10½*gr.* à 7*dw.* 11*gr.* Son titre est fort bon; sur cent parties il n'y en a qu'une ou deux de remède. On peut évaluer la rupée à 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling. La rupée d'or vaut 1*l.* 10*s.* La proportion de l'or à l'argent est 12½ à un. Frazer, p. 25, 26.

		Livres Sterling.	
Un lack de rupées	=100,000 rupées =	12,500	Idem, p. 50.
Une crore de rupées	=100 lacks =	1,250,000	
Un arrib de rupées	=100 crores =	125,000,000	

Un dam est une monnoie idéale qui vaut la quarantième partie d'une rupée, ¾ d'un sous d'Angleterre.

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terre. On s'en sert pour exprimer les revenus des fonds de terre.

Frazer, p. 26. Du tems de l'Empereur Shah Jehan, en 1647, l'empire comprenoit vingt-trois grandes provinces, dont je vais donner les noms et les revenus annuels comme M. Frazer les a trouvé dans les mémoires les plus authentiques de ce pays-là.

	Crores de Dams.	Livres Sterling.	
1. Dehli	100	3,125,000	
2. Agra	90	2,812,500	
3. Lahor	90	2,812,500	
4. Ajmir	60	1,875,000	
5. Dowlatabad	55	1,718,750	
6. Berar	55	1,718,750	
7. Guzarat	53	1,651,250	leg. 1,646,250
8. Bengal	50	1,562,500	
9. Alehabad	40	1,250,000	
10. Bahar	40	1,250,000	
11. Maloa	40	1,250,000	
12. Khandeish	40	1,250,000	
13. Audih	30	937,500	
14. Mûltan	28	875,000	
15. Odissea	20	625,000	
16. Cabul	15	468,750	
17. Cashmir	15	468,750	
18. Tatta	8	250,000	
19. Balk	8	250,000	
20. Kandahar	7	218,750	
21. Biduckshan	4	125,000	
22. Tillingana	30	937,500	
23. Buglana	2	62,500	
TOTAL	880	27,500,000	

Ce même prince entretenoit une armée de 911,400 hommes, cavalerie et infanterie, payés sur le trésor royal.

Les

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Les provinces de Balk, Biduckshan, et Kandahar furent ensuite perdues: mais Auringzebe conquit les deux grands royaumes de Visapore et d'Hyderabad, ou Golconde. Le premier lui rendoit par an 1,078,305,000 dams (3,369,700 *l. s.*), et le second 1,113,360,000 dams (3,479,250 *l. s.*). Cet empereur partagea l'empire en 19 grands provinces dont les vicerois s'appellent soubahs. A sa mort en 1707 il laissa un revenu annuel de 12,071,876,840 dams (37,724,615 *l. s.* 2*s.* 6*d.*). Son empire est bien déchu depuis sa mort. Frazer, p. 34.

On a apprécié le total de ce que souffrit l'Hindostan dans l'expédition de Nadir Shah à un arrib de rupées, 125,000,000 *l. s.*; vingt crores, 25,000,000 *l. s.* des pertes, incendies, dévastations, &c.; dix crores du butin qu'y firent les troupes Persannes (12,500,000 *l. s.*), et soixante-dix crores des trésors que le vainqueur enleva (87,500,000 *l. s.*) En voici le détail, Idem, p. 220, 221.

	Crores.	Livres Sterling.
En pierreries de l'empereur et des Omras	25	31,250,000
Le trône du Paon et 9 autres, &c. . . .	9	11,250,000
En argent monnoyé	25	31,250,000
En vaisselle d'or et d'argent	5	6,250,000
En étoffes, meubles, &c.	5	6,250,000
En canons, munitions de guerre, &c. . .	1	1,250,000
TOTAL . .	70	87,500,000

Dans l'Hindostan le seer de bled pèse environ deux livres et demie; on compte que notre *quartier* en pèse 544. Arbuthnot, p. 34.

Pendant l'expédition de Nadir Shah, la disette regnoit à un tel point dans le camp des Indiens Frazer, p. 168.

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qu'un seer ou 1½ seer se vendoient pour une rupée; c'est à raison de 18*l.* ou 27*l.* par quartier. Les Persans se procuroient l'abondance par les fourrages qu'ils faisoient dans le pays. Le froment se vendoit chez eux à raison de 12 seers 30 livres par rupée; c'est 2*l.* 5*s.* par quartier. Un prix très commun en Angleterre.

Il y a deux cosses en Hindostan. La première réglée par l'autorité publique, et dont on se sert pour mesurer les chemins du royaume, est de 4000 verges Angloises (1875 toises). L'espèce de cosse usitée dans plusieurs provinces varie de 2000 à 2500 verges, c'est à dire 937½ à 1171⅞ toises.

Frazer, p. 122. mais voyez aussi, p. 202.

Nadir Shah s'empara de toutes les terres d'église en Perse. Elles se montoient à 1,000,000 tomans par an, 2,500,000 *l. s.*

Hanway, t. i. p. 250, &c.

Nadir Shah avoit une armée de 200,000 hommes, la plûpart Tartares; elle lui coûtoit cinq millions de livres sterling par an, à raison de 100 écus par soldat: chacun étoit lui-même obligé de se pourvoir d'armes et d'habits. Pour soudoyer cette armée le tyran ruinoit la Perse sans vouloir toucher à son trésor Indien qu'il regardoit comme sa dernière ressource; mais qui a été dispersé après sa mort.

Mém. de Litt. tom. xxviii. p. 487—502.

On peut prendre une idée très exacte des mesures Chinoises dans un Mémoire de M. d'Anville: en voici le résultat:

10 grains de mil	=	1 fuen
10 fuens	=	1 créun ou doigt
10 créuns ou doigts	=	1 ché ou pied
6 pieds	=	1 pun ou toise
10 pieds	=	1 chan ou canne
1800 pieds	=	1 li ou mille Chinois.

Comme

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Comme les voyageurs ne sont point d'accord sur la mesure du pied Chinois M. d'Anville consulta le P. Gaubil, missionnaire à Pekin. Ce Père s'assura que le pied impérial étoit au pied de roi comme 500 à 508, c'est à dire onze pouces neuf lignes et sept dixièmes de lignes, et par conséquent douze pouces sept lignes et deux dixièmés de lignes du pied Anglois.

	T.F.	P.	Poa.	Verg.Angl.	P.	Pouc.
Le li, mesure itinéraire=	295	1	3	= 629	2	4

193 li sont égaux à un dégré du grand cercle; cependant les mathématiciens Chinois y comptent unanimement 200 li. On pourroit attribuer cette différence à leur peu d'habileté, ou au désir de n'employer qu'un nombre rond; si l'on ne savoit que telle fut la décision de l'empereur Cam-hi et que personne n'osa y contredire ni la rectifier.

Telle est la mesure des li actuels; mais M. D'Anville croit en avoir trouvé de plus petits dans les siècles reculés. Un rapport des parasanges au li dans le quinzième siècle lui en donne de ceux-ci de 272 au dégré. La mensuration même d'un dégré dans le huitième lui en fournit de 338; et la distance de Pekin à une ville Tartare lui en fait, du troisième siècle avant J. C. de 405 au dégré. Tout cela est fort ingénieux et paroît même assez vraisemblable. Je voudrois avoir eu les mêmes secours sur les poids qui sont en même tems la seule monnoie d'or ou d'argent que connoissent les Chinois. Les réponses vagues et obscures des missionnaires m'ont engagé à consulter les voyages d'un négociant qui a passé six mois à Canton. Il n'a pu connoître

Voyage to the E. I. p. 316—321.

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que les objets du commerce, mais il doit être assez instruit là-dessus. Selon lui,

10 li, (les Européens les appellent cash)	=1 candarin
10 foan ou candarins	=1 mace
10 tsean ou maces	=1 tael. Les Chinois le nomment leang
10 leang ou taels	=12 oz. 2 dwt. 4 gr. poids Anglois =12 onces environ de Paris
16 taels	=1 cattie ou livre Chinoise

L'écu d'Angleterre (5 chelins) 5 *l. T.* 12½, passe à la Chine pour 8 maces ; par conséquent, un tael =10 maces=6*s.* 3*d.*=en gros 7 *l. T.* 0*s.*

Mémoires, p. 249, &c. Le Père le Comte me paroît le mieux instruit, sur les revenus de la Chine. Ce que la cour reçoit en argent ne passe pas 22 millions de taels, 6,875,000*l.s.* Mais il faut ajouter une somme bien plus considérable pour toutes les denrées que les provinces sont obligées de fournir en ris, en bled, en draps, en soies, en sel, en vernis, &c. &c. qu'on peut évaluer à cinquante de taels 15,625,000 *l. s.* Le total du revenu peut monter à 72 millions de taels 22,500,000 *l. s.* L'Hindostan, moins peuplé et moins commerçant, a rendu bien davantage à son prince ; mais le commerce des Indes engloutit les trésors de l'Amérique, et l'avarice tyrannique des Mogols ne laisse au commerçant que les richesses qu'il peut leur cacher. Le P. du Halde avoit évalué ce revenu à 200,000,000 taels, 62,500,000 *l. s.* après une exagération pareille j'ai peine à le croire. Il dit cependant que l'empereur entretient 160,000 hommes auprès de sa personne, et plus de

Description Gen. t. ii. p. 21.

770,000

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770,000 pour la défense de la grande muraille et des provinces, en tout 930,000 hommes ; avec 565,000 chevaux pour remonter sa cavalerie. La Chine, dans un dénombrement fait au commencement du règne de Cam-hi, contenoit 11,052,872 familles, et 59,788,364 hommes en état de porter les armes, sans y comprendre les lettrés, les bonze, les mariniers, &c. Un pareil calcul nous donneroit pour le moins 200,000,000 d'habitans.

Les détails qu'il donne sur les denrées que les provinces envoyoient en cour ont un air d'authenticité. Entr'autres j'y trouve en bled et ris 40,155,490 sacs, chaque sac du poids de 120 livres. Cette quantité énorme reviendroit à 15,494,722 quartiers d'Angleterre, et vaudroit ici plus de 30,000,000 livres sterling. Je sais que les denrées sont à meilleur marché à la Chine, mais cette somme me paroît aussi incroyable que peu nécessaire. Vanité Chinoise !

ON

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ON THE POSITION OF *THE MERIDIONAL LINE*, AND AN INQUIRY INTO THE SUPPOSED CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS.

By the Greek* and Arabian cosmographers the first meridian was loosely placed at the Fortunate or Canary islands: the true position of the isle of Ferro has been determined by modern observation, and the degrees of longitude proceed with singular propriety from the western limit of the old hemisphere. The absurd vanity of the Spaniards and Dutch, the French and English, has variously transported this ideal line from a common and familiar term: the longitudes of Madrid and Amsterdam, of Paris and Greenwich, must now be compared, and the national diversity of speech and measure is aggravated by a new source of perplexity and confusion. The prince of geographers,

* The ignorance of Ptolemy, (l. iv. c. 7, in Bertii Theatrum Geographiæ Antiquæ, tom. i. p. 127) has ranged the *six* Fortunate islands under the same meridian line, the most northern point of which is sunk as low as the latitude of the Cape de Verd islands.

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the celebrated d'Anville, has shewn his judgment and impartiality by adhering to the old style.

It was the duty of the Greek poets, who described the residence and rewards of departed heroes, to adorn *their* fortunate islands with the gifts of perpetual spring and spontaneous plenty. A remote and hospitable land has often been praised above its merits by the gratitude of storm-beaten mariners. But the real scene of the Canaries affords, like the rest of the world, a mixture of good and evil, nay even of indigenous ills and of foreign improvements. Yet, in sober truth, the small islands of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans may be esteemed as some of the most agreeable spots on the globe. The sky is serene, the air is pure and salubrious: the meridian heat of the sun is tempered by the sea-breeze: the groves and vallies, at least in the Canaries, are enlivened by the melody of their *native* birds, and a new climate may be found, at every step, from the shore to the summit, of a mountainous ascent.

In the Atlantic or Fortunate islands of Plutarch* we acknowledge, with some hesitation, the first features of the Canaries to which Sertorius was desirous of escaping from the horrors of civil war. The description of Pliny† is more accurate and distinct;

* Plutarch in Sertorio, tom. iii. p. 312, Edit. Bryan. Yet some circumstances are fabulous, and others would more easily adapt themselves to the Madeiras. If we prefer the Canaries, Lancerota and Fuerteventura, the nearest to the African shore, must be the two islands of Plutarch.

† Pliny (Hist. Natur. vi. 37) had likewise consulted the Periplus

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tinct; and his knowledge was derived from the discoveries and writings of Juba,* the most learned king that ever reigned over the Moors. The names of the Canary islands, their number of six or seven, and their respective distance are marked, though with some uncertainty. The plenty of the Orchilla weed, so useful to the dyers, will justify the appellation of the Purple Isles, and the use of a manufacture which Juba intended to establish. A multitude of dogs and goats, with the ruins of some stone buildings, announced the more early visits, perhaps, of the Phœnicians: but these islands appear to have been destitute of inhabitants, and I must assign to a later age the arrival of the Getulian emigrants who preserved their idiom, and soon lost the imperfect art which had conveyed them over a narrow sea. The kingdom of Juba was reduced into a province: but the Romans were satiated with empire, and they disdained, or feared, to plant a colony in the Atlantic ocean. It is less easy to account for the neglect of the Mahometans: they were conquerors, fanatics, and merchants; nor could the Great Desert protect from their ambition the black nations of

plus of Statius Sebosus. The geographer will be satisfied with d'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 116.) and Cellarius (Geographia Antiqua, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 141.): but the idle scholar may consult the texts of Mela, Ælian, and Solinus, with the Commentaries of Isaac Vossius, Perizonius, and Salmasius.

* See the Life and Writings of Juba, King of Mauritania, by the Abbé Sevin, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. iv. p. 457.

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the Niger. Yet the Arabian geographers are content to repeat the fables of Ptolemy; and Abulfeda's ignorance* is betrayed by the wild supposition that the Fortunate islands had been overwhelmed by the waves.

While Abulfeda deplored their loss they were given by Pope Clement VI.† (1344), with the title of kingdom, to Lewis de la Cerda, the rightful though banished heir of Castille. The title was vain, the grant ineffectual: the Canaries, which had been recently discovered by the Genoese,‡ were infested by some roving pirates from Catalonia and Biscay, but the first serious idea of conquest was entertained and executed by William de Bethancourt, a gentleman of Normandy, who sailed from la Rochelle in search of these fortunate islands. Deserted by his country, which was unwilling, or unable, to support a naval enterprise, he implored the aid and acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Castille; his hopes and possessions were transferred by sale and inheritance to the Spaniards, and their blood and language soon predominated in the new settlements. In

* Abulfed. Geograph. Tabula. v. p. 230. Vers. Reisk.

† Vie de Pétrarque, tom. i. p. 199—205. I have disdained a silly and groundless story that the English ambassadors at Avignon were alarmed by the grant of the *Fortunate* islands, a title which, according to their prejudice, could belong only to those of Britain.

‡ Petrarch de Vitâ Solitariâ, l. ii. sect. vi. c. 3. p. 277. Edit. Basil. The Abbate Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iv. p. 111) maintains this national discovery against the national jealousy of a Spanish critic.

the

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the space of eight years (1400—1408) William de Bethancourt had completely reduced and imperfectly planted the four smaller Canaries, Lancerota, Fuerteventura, Gomera, and Ferro:* but the natives of the three larger islands of Canaria, Palma, and Teneriff, resisted above seventy years the private adventurers of Spain: nor was it till the close of the fifteenth century that they finally yielded (1495) to the fleets and armies, the artillery and the missionaries of Ferdinand and Isabella.† Their weapons were unequal, but they used the advantage of the ground; their generosity could spare a suppliant enemy, and they reserved for their own defeat the precipice of despair. The remains of the old inhabitants are now incorporated with the conquerors: the population of the Canaries may amount to near two hundred thousand souls who enjoy, under the yoke of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, the blessings of peace and the arts of commerce, which were unknown to the savage liberty of their predecessors.

* See a small but valuable treatise of Pierre Bergeron de la Navigation, &c. (c. 6, 7—29—35) which introduces the Voyages principalement en Asie, &c. La Haye, 1735. 2 vols. in 4to.

† The History and Description of the Canary Islands, by George Glass (London, 1764), are drawn partly from a Spanish MS. composed at Palma, and partly from the reading and experience of the author. But he had not, nor have I, seen the copious work of a native of the Canaries (Josephi de Viera y Clavijo Noticias de la Historia General de les Isles de Canaria. Madrid, 1762, &c. 4 vols. in 4to.). Clavijo is the unfortunate man who has been dishonoured, perhaps unjustly, by the wit and malice of Beaumarchais.

"In

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"In the time of our grandfathers (it was said in the reign of Claudius) a certain Eudoxus, flying from the wrath of Ptolemy Lathyrus, King of Egypt, embarked on the Red Sea, and sailed round to Cadiz in Spain." This passage is extracted by Pomponius Mela* from the writings of Cornelius Nepos, who lived in the time of the said Ptolemy, and deserved the friendship of Cicero and Atticus.† A witness of a respectable character, who affirms a recent and notorious fact, will naturally engage the public confidence: this African circumnavigation has been unanimously admitted, and I must conceal my suspicions could I not produce from the philosopher Posidonius, a writer of equal age and authority, the true and accurate state of the voyages of Eudoxus.‡ His eye might be deceived by the unnatural distortions and monstrous dresses of the southern savages, he might find some tribes ignorant of the use of language and fire: but that he returned by a new road to the northern hemisphere,

Ignotum per iter, gelidas enavit ad Arctos,

I positively deny.

Under the reign of the second Euergetes, who died one hundred and seventeen years before the

* Mela de Sitû Orbis, lib. iii. c. 9. p. 402, 403, 405. Edit. Voss. The same passage of Cornelius Nepos is quoted by Pliny. (Hist. Natur. lib. ii. c. 67.)

† See Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, lib. xv. c. 28. We have some fragments of the Letters of Cicero to Cornelius Nepos, who has composed a life of Atticus, which is still extant.

‡ Posidonius, apud Strabon. Geograph. l. ii. p. 155—160.

Christian

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Christian era, Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a priest, a linguist, and a mariner, arrived in Egypt and gained the favour of the prince and people. A new field of riches and knowledge was opened to the Ptolemies by the shipwreck of an Indian on the Red Sea. With this guide, who had soon learned the Egyptian tongue, Eudoxus sailed to India on his first voyage of discovery, but the cargo of spices and precious stones with which he returned exposed him to the avarice of the tyrant. After his death, under the regency of his widow Cleopatra, Eudoxus was again employed. In his second voyage he was driven on the coast of Æthiopia; among the hospitable natives he distributed the unknown blessings of corn, wine, and dry figs, while his own curiosity was gratified with a catalogue of their barbarous words; and the prow of a foreign ship, inscribed with horses, which had been cast on their shore by the western winds.* In the port of Alexandria this fragment was recognised by the merchants of Cadiz, who even named the ship, a fishing vessel, which some years before was supposed to be lost beyond the river Lixus, on the western coast of Africa. Eudoxus now held the thread of discovery, but fear or indignation urged him to leave the unworthy court of Ptolemy Lathyrus, the son of Cleopatra. I slightly mention

* According to Pliny a similar wreck was found by Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, in the Red Sea. Such stories could not have been entertained had the ancients formed any just idea of the size of Africa; of the Cape which advances near thirty-five degrees into the southern hemisphere.

his

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his return home, the sale of his estate, his visit to Italy and Marseilles, and his final departure from Cadiz with a great ship and two brigantines to explore the Atlantic ocean. Fired with the hope of reaching India, he supported the murmurs of his crew, and the loss of his vessels, built a small galley of fifty oars, and continued his route till he heard on the western, the same language which he had found on the eastern, side of the continent of Africa. On his return to the river Lixus he offered himself and his discoveries to the Moorish king, but the timid Bogud was apprehensive of opening his dominions to unknown enemies, and had not Eudoxus escaped to the Roman province of Spain, the dangerous secret might have been extinguished with his life. His second voyage from Cadiz was prepared with more prudence and skill: the form of his vessels was adapted to the seas and shores; and instead of an useless train of singing-girls and physicians, he enlisted a laborious company of husbandmen and artificers, resolving to winter on a verdant island which he had discovered in the ocean. It is here, at this critical moment, that Posidonius disappoints our curiosity, referring his readers to the Spaniards of Cadiz, as the most likely to be informed of the failure or success of the voyage of Eudoxus, against the reality of which the geographer Strabo has raised some idle and envious objections.

Of the four circumnavigations of Africa, three have been disproved, and the overthrow of Sataspes, Hanno, and Eudoxus must disturb the easy

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and early triumph of the Phœnicians of Nechus. Nor are these doubtful or fabulous expeditions attested by the consent of ages. The spirit and perhaps the records of naval enterprise were lost in the destruction of Tyre and Carthage; and their conquerors were unwilling to believe even the real achievements, which they were unable to imitate. The world of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabians was circumscribed within a narrow outline. Some geographers, accidentally stumbling on the truth, affirm or rather suspect that Africa, except in the isthmus of Suez, is encompassed by an open and navigable sea. But a large majority, in weight as well as in number, represent the climates beyond the equator as unknown or impervious; a torrid zone in which no mortals can breathe, a shallow and muddy ocean, in which no vessels can move, or an interposing tract of land, which joins in a southern latitude the continents of Æthiopia and India. By all who raised such insuperable barriers, the *possibility* of a circumnavigation was denied; but the few who admitted that it was *possible* might doubt or disbelieve that it had ever been actually performed.

Arrian,* or the nameless author who under the reign of Adrian has composed a description of the Red Sea, embraces, according to the style of antiquity, the Persian and Arabian Gulphs with a part of the ocean between India and Africa. He runs

* Arrian, Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 150. Edit. Blancard.

the

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the African coast to the city and promontory of Rhapta, which is placed by Ptolemy in the eighth degree of southern latitude. From thence, continues Arrian, the land turns to the west, and the surrounding ocean, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN EXPLORED, at length mingles with the waters of the Atlantic. Under a Roman emperor the task of discovery might have been shortened, if his subjects had sailed in friendly correspondence from his ports of Egypt and Spain. But Adrian was not ambitious of conquest, his curiosity did not grasp the knowledge of the globe; and the endless promontory of the south would have soon exhausted the skill and patience of his mariners.

Above the crowd of vulgar geographers, Eratosthenes and Ptolemy exalt their heads, as the great masters of celestial and terrestrial science. Eratosthenes* was the first who dared to measure and delineate the earth: but in his erroneous system, a burning and desolate zone extends twelve degrees on either side of the equinoctial line. The land of cinnamon, on the eastern coast of Africa, is situate within the twelfth degree: it might be superfluous to add that none had ever penetrated beyond this term of *our* habitable world; but the sentence is of damning weight, from an universal scholar to whom Herodotus was familiar, and who commanded the treasures of the Alexandrian libra-

* Eratosthenes Geographicorum Fragmenta, lib. ii. p. 63, &c. l. iii. p. 193. Gotting. 1789.

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ry.* The geographical sphere of Ptolemy† was enlarged by the Roman discoveries, and his own propensity to magnify space and distance beyond their real proportions. His promontory of Prasum, a Cape Verd on the eastern coast of Africa, is forced as low as the fifteenth degree of southern latitude: but he draws, from the neighbourhood of this cape, the line of an unknown continent, which is finally united with the country of the Asiatic Sinæ. Ptolemy reigned near fourteen centuries on earth, as well as in heaven; nor was the Greek oracle ever confuted by the experience of the Arabians.

In the sublime fiction of Camoens,‡ the spirit of the Cape, arising from his stormy waves, at once accuses and applauds the Portuguese, the first of men who had explored their way round the southern promontory of Africa.

> Nor Roman prow, nor daring Tyrian oar,
> Ere dashed the white wave foaming to my shore:
> Nor Greece, nor Carthage, ever spread the sail
> On these my seas to catch the trading gale,
> You, you alone, have dared to plough my main,
> And with the human voice disturb my lonesome reign.

* It is generally agreed among scholars that Eratosthenes was styled *βητα*, not from being the second in every science, but as the second keeper (239—194 years before Christ) of the Alexandrian library. Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 471.

† Claud. Ptolemæus, l. iv. c. 9, l. vii. c. 4, in Bertii Theatrum Geographiæ Veteris, tom. i. p. 131—212.

‡ Mickle's Lusiad, p. 211, 212. An Englishman must praise the versification; the Portuguese acknowledge the fidelity of this elegant translation.

I WILL

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I WILL TAKE THE GHOST'S WORD FOR A THOUSAND POUNDS!

Nechus, King or Pharaoh of Egypt, who reigned six hundred years before the Christian era, is mentioned in the Hebrew Chronicles,* as well as by the father of Grecian history.† The mind of Nechus was susceptible of every kind of ambition: the Jews and Syrians fell before his arms; he entered Jerusalem in triumph; his empire was bounded by the Euphrates; and the ships of war which he built commanded the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The execution of his canal from the Nile to the last mentioned sea might have changed the commerce of the world, but after expending the lives of an hundred and twenty thousand of his subjects, the King of Egypt was alarmed by an oracle, and turned his thoughts to the fame and advantage of naval discoveries. At his command, and in his vessels, a chosen band of Phœnicians penetrated from the Arabian gulf into the southern ocean, returned in the third year by the Straits of

* These Chronicles, the reign of Pharaoh-Necho, and the contemporary history of the east, are illustrated in the learned writings of the Christian chronologists, in the Animadversions of Scaliger, in the Annals of Archbishop Usher, in Prideaux's Connections, in Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronicus, in an Essai sur l'Histoire Orientale, in the Monde Primitif of M. Court de Gebelin. By these, and by many more, the Phœnician voyage round Africa is reported without a shadow of suspicion.

† Herodot. l. ii. c. 158, 159, p. 181, 182, l. iv. c. 42, p. 298. In every quotation of Herodotus I use the Greek edition of Wesseling, with his learned notes, and those of M. Larcher, the French translator, a scholar and a critic.

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Gibraltar, and proved for the first time, that, except in the isthmus of Suez, the continent of Africa is on all sides encompassed by the sea. In the autumn of the first and second year, these bold navigators landed on some convenient spot, committed their seeds to the ground, patiently waited the returns of the next harvest, and resumed their voyage with a fresh supply of provisions. The Phœnicians reported that, in sailing round Africa, they had seen the sun on their right hand, "a phenomenon (says Herodotus) which to some may seem less incredible than it does to me."

Since the modern discoveries of the Portuguese, we know the *possibility*, and we suppose the *reality* of an ancient circumnavigation of Africa. The reign of Nechus is accurately fixed in the last and most authentic period of the history of Egypt: his father Psammetichus had opened the country to the Greeks, and his death did not happen more than one hundred and sixty years before the travels of Herodotus. An inquisitive spirit forms the character of the historian whose authority has been fortified by the improvement of criticism and science: he had visited Egypt before the chain of tradition was buried in the ruins of the temples and sacerdotal colleges: he investigated the remains of the docks or arsenals which Nechus had built; and the Pharaoh, after the example of Solomon, might reasonably entrust his vessels to the most skilful navigators of the east. The ignorance of the Greek might tempt him to deny, but his impartiality forbade him to dissemble, the astronomical

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cal fact, which, in our eyes, is the surest pledge of his veracity. As soon as they had passed the line, the sun would appear on the right hand of the Phœnicians.

I have allowed full weight to these specious probabilities, but I must object, with equal fairness, that Herodotus was a stranger in Egypt, who saw with his own eyes, but who heard with the ears of his careless or credulous interpreters. The priests were ambitious of impressing the minds of strangers with a splendid idea of their celestial and terrestrial science; and in the observatories of Thebes and Heliopolis, the astronomers could safely calculate the motions and aspects of the planets. A journal of the voyage of the Phœnicians, which Herodotus had never seen, must have demonstrated its truth or falsehood: their adventures would be measured by the standard of probability, and the seas and lands, the winds and seasons, the plants and animals, would be compared with the genuine and unalterable face of nature. But a southern communication between the Indian and Atlantic ocean might be affirmed or denied: the chance was equal; and a lucky guess may have usurped the honours of actual discovery. My surprise and suspicion are excited by the successful agriculture of the strangers in unknown climates and new soils; by the seeds of the temperate zone which yield their increase between the tropics: nor can I persuade myself that these infant navigators sailed round Africa in three summers to amuse the curiosity of a king of Egypt. The compass was in

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the hands of the Portuguese: they were stimulated by the spirit of chivalry, fanaticism, and avarice; yet after seventy years of labour and danger, their fruitless efforts were still repelled by THE CAPE OF TEMPESTS.

By the command of the Senate of Carthage, two admirals, Himilco and Hanno, were sent at the same time to navigate the northern and southern parts of the Atlantic ocean. HANNO sailed from Carthage with a fleet of sixty large ships, carrying a multitude of men, women, and children, which has been magnified to the incredible number of thirty thousand persons. In twelve days from the Straits of Gibraltar he reached the small island of Cerne or Arguin: planted seven cities or colonies for the benefit of trade, and fixed his last station at Cerne itself, which has since been occupied, disputed, and abandoned by the modern powers. As he advanced, he discovered a large river, most probably the Senegal, well-peopled with hippopotami and crocodiles; and his course was directed first to the south and afterwards to the east along the coast of Guinea. A chain of mountains, the Sierra-Leone, overlooked the ocean; and burning volcanos poured into its waves their torrents of liquid fire. In the heat of day all was silent; but the forests blazed with nocturnal lights, and re-echoed with the joyous sound of flutes, cimbals, and drums. In some slight encounters, the arms of the Carthaginians must prevail over the wandering natives, who spoke a language unknown to the Moorish interpreters. By their speed of foot the savages escaped;

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escaped; but the hairy skins of three female captives were exhibited as trophies at Carthage; and though Hanno mistook for women these mute and perverse animals, it is more probable that they were *Pongos*, the large monkey of human shape. The cape of *Tres Puntas* in Guinea, five degrees north of the equator, appears to have been the term of this whole Atlantic navigation of thirty-eight days: the scarcity of provisions compelled Hanno to return; nor does he seem to have detached any light vessels to prosecute the line of southern discovery. The date of his voyage rests, or rather floats on a period of four centuries (700 to 300 years before Christ;) but, for various reasons, I am inclined to sink it as low as the prosperity of the republic of Carthage will permit.

The journal or Periplus of Hanno* is still extant in a Greek version, nor can I agree with the idle suspicions of Dodwell that it has been changed or corrupted since its first appearance soon after the age of Aristotle.† This concise narrative was translated or abstracted from a Punic inscription on

* See the Periplus of Hanno in the first volume of Hudson's Geographi Minores, with Dodwell's Dissertation. Mariana. Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. i. c. 22. p. 32, 33. Pomponius Mela, l. iii. c. 9. p. 401. cum Observat. Isaac Vossii. Bougainville sur le Voyage d'Hannon in Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 10—46. tom. xxviii. p. 260—318.

† Aristot. περι θαυμασιων ακουσματων. c. xxxv. p. 77. Edit. Beckman. Gotting. 1786. This collection of wonderful stories is drawn from the writings of Aristotle, and may be ascribed to one of his first disciples.

a plate

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a plate of brass or marble in the temple of Saturn at Carthage: the practice of these ancient records is acknowledged; and most of the proper names may be reasonably derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician idiom.* The *Libyc* books, the wanderings of Hanno, were indeed exposed on the Athenian stage as notorious fables; but the Greeks were at once credulous and sceptical; and even the ridicule attests the existence of the books and the fame of the voyage.† The trade and colonies of Carthage along the shores of the Atlantic and the Libyan deserts are firmly established: yet it must be allowed that one of our best witnesses, the geographer Scylax, denies the possibility of navigating beyond Cerne in a shallow and muddy ocean.‡

A much longer voyage of Hanno, the entire circumnavigation of Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Red Sea, will not be supported by the single and hasty assertion of the elder Pliny. In the course of a work as extensive and various as Nature itself, his critical attention is often bewildered; and while he believes the most singular, he rejects the most simple circumstances of the Periplus of Hanno.§

While the liberality of Gelo and his brother Hiero attracted every stranger who could amuse or

* Bochart, Canaan. l. i. c. 37. in Opp. tom. i. p. 639—644.

† Athen. Deipnosophist. l. iii. c. 7. p. 83. Aristides in Oratione Ægyptiaca, in Opp. tom. ii. p. 356. Edit. Jebb.

‡ Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus, p. 53. in Geograph. Min. tom. i.

§ Plin Hist. Natur. ii. 67. v. 1. vi. 36.

instruct

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instruct the court of Syracuse, a Persian *Mage* related to the former of those princes that he himself had circumnavigated the whole continent of Africa.* An event of such magnitude cannot be lightly received on the single credit of a wandering priest, whose religion and country afford the fairest grounds of suspicion. The Magi abhorred the art of navigation, which tended to sully the purity of one of the sacred elements;† the Persians never aspired to the fame of a maritime people, and a voyage of distant discovery, though not incredible, must be deemed in their character a very singular adventure. It is certain however that in the time of Gelo and Xerxes,‡ they *once* attempted the circumnavigation of Africa, and the exaggerated tale of the *Mage* of Syracuse must be tried and reduced by the authentic relation of Herodotus, who derived his intelligence from the report of the Carthaginians.§

* This *Mage* had been introduced in one of the Dialogues of Heraclides Ponticus, a disciple of Plato and Aristotle, (Vossius de Historicis Græcis, l. i. c. 8, 9.) But his voluminous writings are now lost, as well as those of Posidonius, by whom this passage had been quoted, and we are now reduced to the testimony of Strabo. (Geograph. l. ii. p. 155. 158.)

† Plin. Hist. Natur. xxx. 7.

‡ This synchronism lasted seven years, 485—478, before Christ: but the Egyptian rebellion will not permit us to place the voyage of Sataspes before the third year (482) of the reign of Xerxes. (Herodot. l. vii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.)

§ See Herodot. l. iv. c. 48. p. 398, 299. Edit. Wesseling, and the excellent French version of M. Larcher, with his learned notes, tom. iii. p. 156. 405.

Under

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Under the reign, and in the court of Xerxes, his kinsman Sataspes was condemned to be impaled for the crime of ravishing a noble virgin. But a mother, the sister of Darius, interceded for the guilty youth, on whom she promised to inflict a punishment not less terrible than death itself; and he accepted as the condition of his pardon the task of sailing round Libya, and returning home by the Red Sea. After preparing his ship and mariners in Egypt, Sataspes sailed beyond the columns of Hercules, and coasted along the African shore to the promontory of Soloe, (Cape Boyador,) from whence he steered his southern course in the Atlantic ocean. The natives whom he saw were of a diminutive stature: their garments were composed of the leaves of the palm tree: they were affrighted by the aspect of a naval monster, and wheresoever he landed, they fled into the country, abandoning their villages and cattle to the rapacious strangers. But Sataspes, who was not endowed with the spirit of discovery, beheld with anxious despair the prospect of an endless sea, and his complaint that his ship was stopped, that it would advance no farther, may be imputed to the dead calms that prevail in the neighbourhood of the line. The dangers and fatigues of his expedition and return might have expiated the crime of love: but the justice or revenge of Xerxes was inexorable: Sataspes was impaled according to the rigour of his first sentence; and his misfortunes, though not his character, may afford a faint similitude of our countryman Sir Walter Raleigh.

After

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After the death of Sataspes, one of his eunuchs escaped to the isle of Samos with a large sum of money, of which he was defrauded by the perfidy of a Samian, whose name is forgotten by the tenderness of the father of history. The Asiatic Greeks maintained a free and frequent intercourse with Sicily: and a *Mage*, who had served as chaplain in the Libyan voyage, might accompany the eunuch's flight, and abuse the privilege of a traveller.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, before the age of Mahomet, under the reign of Adrian,* the commerce and even the dominion of the Arabs was spread along the eastern shores of Africa on either side of the Equinoctial line. After a long and lucrative traffic, the Mahometans of Arabia were tempted by the nakedness of the people and the richness of the land; but in the ninth century, Zanguebar, the coast of the Zenghis, was still savage and idolatrous. The northern position of Magadoxo and Brava points them out as the most ancient settlements (A. H. 320, A. D. 932); the kingdom of Quiloa was founded (A. H. 400, A. D. 1009) by a Persian prince of the race of the Sultans of Shiraz; Melinda, Monbaza, and Sofala flourished in the twelfth century; these maritime colonies were increased by vagrant Bedoweens and Negro proselytes, and the reign of Islam extended to the isle of Madagascar and the tropic of Capricorn.†

The

* Arrian, in his Periplus of the Red Sea, is illustrated by d'Anville. Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxx. p. 88, &c.

† See the Arabians (Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 27, 28, Abulfeda, Geograph.

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The contrast of the savage Africans may have embellished the portrait of the Arabians of Zanguebar, but the features of a rich and civilized people are not easily mistaken. According to the heat of the climate, and the fashion of the east, they were clothed in loose garments of silk or cotton; their turbans were of fine linen; nor did they neglect the elegant luxury of gold and gems. These ornaments might be brought from a distance, but the state of the colonies marked an high degree of wealth and improvement. The cities were populous and regular, the public and private buildings were of hewn stone or painted wood, the gardens were filled with the plants of India, the adjacent lands were cultivated with skill and care, and the inhabitants possessed great numbers of cattle and domestic animals. The iron-works of Melinda, the gold mines of Sofala were at once the monuments of their art, and the sources of their opulence. In war they employed the arms of antiquity, bows and arrows, scimetars and lances; the horsemen of Monbaza, and the archers of Melinda were renowned: but they were ignorant of the invention of gunpowder and the use of canon. These maritime colonies could not forget the art of navigation: they traded with Aden and Ormuz, with Cambaye and Calicut, but their

Geograph. Tab. xxvii. p. 355, 356, and Yakouti in the Notices des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, tom. ii. p 395.) whose knowledge seems to have decayed with time. The Abbé Renaudot (Anciennes Relations des Indes, p. 303—308.) is most instructive.

course

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course was directed by the monsoons, and they never ventured beyond the Cape of Currents in the twenty-fourth degree of southern latitude. The government of their petty states was loosely balanced by the Royal and Aristocratical powers: the Koran was the bond of union, but the rival sects of Omar and Ali excommunicated each other on this lonesome coast. The Arabians had introduced their language, and the rudiments of letters; but they were ill-provided with books, and it is only in the Lusiad; that a King of Melinda could be familiarized to the names of Homer and Ulysses.*

From the Senegal to the Cape of Currents, Vasco de Gama had seen no vessels on the ocean except his own. After passing that cape, the canoes of the negroes, their artificial trinkets, and their vague reports denounced his approach to a civilized, perhaps to an Indian world. The first interview of the two nations was in the isle of Mozambique; the thundering arms of the Portuguese astonished the Arabians, and applauded the hero who had emerged from the storms and darkness of the south. But Gama could not long dissemble that he was a Christian, the enemy of their faith, and the invader of their commerce: he abhorred the Moors, and the belief that all Mahometans were Moors has propagated the African name to the extremities of Asia. The open or secret enmity

* The English translator of Camoens justifies this impropriety by an old Syriac version of Homer; but the fact is doubtful, and the inference ridiculous. (Mickle's Introduction.)

which

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which laboured to destroy his ships, and intercept his return, is more easily explained than the hospitable welcome, and important aid which he received from the Princes of Melinda. In twenty-three days he traversed without care or danger, an ocean of seven hundred leagues, from Melinda to Calicut. His trusty pilot, an Indian of Guzarat, steered the well-known course by a compass, a quadrant, and a marine chart, and his experience or prejudice despised the astronomical instruments of Europe.

According to the most liberal computation, Vasco de Gama discovered no more than twenty degrees of southern latitude from the Cape of Good Hope to Mozambique. But a thin veil separated Lisbon and India, and the last adventurer, by whom it was removed, has usurped the sole honours of the circumnavigation of Africa. Yet Gama might boast that by him alone the equinoctial line had been crossed four times, and that he had achieved in two years the longest voyage which had been performed by the sons of men.*

The African trade of the Portuguese, as it is described by Mosto, may afford some glimpses into the inland geography of that vast continent, an obscure scene which has been less invisible to the Arabian Moors† than to any other nation of the ancient or modern world.

By

* Osorius de Rebus Lusitanicis, l. i. Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. xxvi. c. 17—20. tom. iii. p. 217—228. Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. i.

† I have before me the Latin Version of the Sherif al Edrisi,

so

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By the care of Prince Henry the little island of Arguin, near Cape Blanco, was settled and fortified: but he gave a monopoly of ten years to his own exclusive company. After some hostilities against the Azenaghis, the last shade between the whites and blacks, their alliance was found to be more conducive to the interest of trade, and even of religion. They pitched their tents from Mount Atlas to the Senegal: their hard and wandering life qualified them to be the carriers of the desert; and Hoden, a station in their country, was in the road of the Moorish caravans. Six days journey from Hoden, Teggazza possessed a mine of rock-salt, which was greedily purchased and used by the natives of the torrid zone to preserve, as they believed, their blood from putrefaction. The camels laden with salt travelled in forty days from Teggazza to Tombuto, in thirty more from Tombuto to Melli, a city and kingdom whose place our ignorance cannot ascertain:* but such were the difficulties of the way, that of an hundred camels not more than twenty-five were expected to return. Melli was frequented by the Mahometans of Egypt and Barbary; and the silk of Grenada was often

so foolishly styled the Geographia Nubiensis, by the Maronites (Paris, 1619, in 4to.), and the Italian original of Leo Africanus, first published by Ramusio (tom. 1. fol. 1—104). The English translations from these writers, in Moore's Travels into Africa (Appendix, p. 1—79), are executed by no vulgar hand.

* D'Anville's Great Map of Africa affords not any traces of Melli, which is however described by Leo (P. vii. fol. 84.), and which seems to be the Malel of Edrisi. (Geograph. Nubiens. Clim. i. P. ii. p. 10.)

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exchanged for the gold and slaves of the most inward Africa. This valuable cargo was distributed in three different channels. The Eastern caravan, the merchants of Grand Cairo, repassed an unknown desert from the Niger to the Nile. The western caravan, after moving in a body from Melli to Tombuto, was separated in the two streams of Tunis and Morocco. The latter approached the sea coast of Arguin: the manufactures of Europe intercepted some portion of the gold-dust, and seven or eight hundred blacks were annually exported for the use of the Portuguese. Ramusio, whose views of commerce are just and enlarged, exhorts the nations to invade the monopoly of salt; to lade their ships at the islands of Cape Verd, and to penetrate by the Senegal, and the Gambia, into the golden regions of Africa. But the negligence of the Europeans, or the invincible obstacles of nature, have hitherto prevented the execution of this splendid design.

But the exchange, with an invisible people, of salt for gold is described by Cadamosta on the faith of the itinerant Arabs. From Melli the salt was transported on men's shoulders to a great lake or river of fresh water where it was left without a guard on the shore. The merchants of Melli, and some unknown strangers who arrived in large boats, had their respective hours for visiting this solitary market: the heaps of gold-dust which the purchasers deposited were proportioned to the value of the salt; and as soon as the scales were equal, the price was accepted, the merchandize was removed,

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removed, and the whole transaction was concluded without seeing each other's faces, but without a suspicion of fraud or violence. It is added that a King of Melli indulged his curiosity to know these mysterious traders: but that a captive who had been surprised in an ambuscade, obstinately rejected all food, and died on the fourth day without having shewn the power or inclination to speak. The singularity of the transaction, some circumstances of gross fable, and the silence of Leo Africanus* may provoke a legitimate doubt: but this mode of invisible traffic is reported by Herodotus,† whom the Venetian had never read, and by the Moors of Barbary who had never heard of the Venetian.‡

A question naturally arises whether Prince Henry explored the Atlantic, the sea of darkness as it was styled by the Arabs, in search of a southern passage to the spicy regions of India. The views of Cadamosta do not seem to reach beyond the fame and profit of his immediate discoveries: but the views of a soldier are not those of his general, and the largest designs are most worthy of a hero who was deeply skilled in the cos-

* Yet we may prove from Leo or Edrisi the scarcity of salt, the plenty of gold, and the fresh-water lakes in the midst of Africa.

† Herodot. l. iv. c. 196. He gives, indeed, this trade to the Carthaginians and places the invisibles on the sea-coast.

‡ Shaw's Travels, p. 239. This learned traveller appears himself unacquainted with the original passage of Herodotus, or the narrative of Cadamosta.

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mography of the age. I can admit that he cherished a secret and distant hope of circumnavigating Africa: nor shall I arraign the gratitude of posterity, which has placed on his head the naval crowns of his successful disciples. Their ardour was chilled, about twenty years, under the reign of his nephew Alphonso V. a reign of foreign and domestic war; but the African voyage was prosecuted by the industry of John II. and finally achieved by the fortune of Emanuel. Their royal efforts directly pointed to India and the spicy trade; the spirit of the court encouraged the Portuguese to press forwards on the ocean, with a brave disdain of prejudice at home and danger abroad. The genius of Columbus tormented Europe, and awakened Spain: but Vasco de Gama was a chosen servant who executed with prudence and resolution the commands of his sovereign.

The thirty-seven years (1460—1497) between the decease of Henry, and the voyage of Gama, had opened a more extensive sphere of theory and practice. The study of the ancients had been revived: the copies of their writings were multiplied; and before the accession of John II. (1481), the original text of Pliny, and the Latin versions of Herodotus and Strabo had been repeatedly printed at Rome and Venice.* The circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians and Persians, by Hanno and Eudoxus, became the favourite

* See the Greek and Latin *Bibliothecæ* of Fabricius and the Annales Typographici of Mattaire.

theme

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theme of discourse; and the fabulous or doubtful tales of antiquity rekindled the courage and promoted the discoveries of the modern Argonauts. A planisphere, or map of the world,* was delineated in the Convent of Murano at Venice: the kings of Portugal employed and rewarded the ingenious monk; and the most perfect edition of his work was long exhibited in a Benedictine Abbey in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. Marine charts, such as may be still extant in our libraries, were drawn by Italian artists and distributed to Portuguese commanders; and the outline of old knowledge, and recent conquest, announced the subject or, at least, the field of inquiry. The mathematicians of John II., two physicians of Jewish names, and a German cosmographer, the famous Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, invented the astrolabe and calculated tables of declination:† the art of navigation was improved, and instead of creeping along the shore, the mariners of Europe gave themselves to the deep. The eastern direction of the coast of Guinea seemed to open a speedy prospect of India: but when the African continent again pointed to the south, the hopes of the Portuguese were blasted; they viewed with astonishment the stars of a

* Tiraboschi, Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vi. P. i. 216. Modena, 1790. For the planisphere of Murano he quotes the Annales Camal. (of the Camaldoli) tom. vii. p. 252. Mr. Senebier, p. 211, describes some maps of the 15th century in the library of Geneva.

† Geddes's Church History of Æthiopia, p. 39.

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new hemisphere, and long hesitated on the verge of the equator. The thirty-five degrees of southern latitude from the line to the southern promontory were discovered in two successive voyages by the captains of John II.: the promontory was turned; and a just confidence in the powers of man imposed on the Cape of Tempests the more auspicious name of CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

I am told, but I do not believe, that the King of Portugal received from Congo the first intelligence of the Christian Empire of Abyssinia: the unknown space between the Nile and the Zayre is occupied by deserts and savages; and a more easy mode of intercourse may be found in the common pilgrimage of Jerusalem. The curiosity of John II. was imperfectly gratified: his first messengers returned after a feeble and fruitless effort: his second ambassadors were more worthy of their trust, but Payva died in Abyssinia, and his associate Covigliam was detained a perpetual exile in that solitary land. Yet, before his captivity, the intrepid Covigliam had transmitted home an account of his first labours. From the Red Sea, he had visited the coasts of the ocean as far as Calicut on the Indian and Sofala on the African side. At Calicut he had seen the great market of oriental spices; at Sofala he had learned from the Arabian mariners, that the southern ocean is boundless and navigable; and he justly concluded that the Caravels which traded to Guinea might explore their way to the isle of Madagascar and the shores of Malabar.

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bar.* Columbus plunged into the sea of darkness: but the merit of Gama is somewhat abated by the previous inspiration of hope and knowledge.

From the designs of Prince Henry to their final accomplishment by Vasco de Gama, the Portuguese discoveries of Africa and India have been the theme of many historians: but the copious stream which uniformly flows in the same channel is derived from a muddy and penurious source. The inquisitive Ramusio (1550) deplores the negligence of the kings of Portugal, who should have required and preserved the fresh memorials of each successful expedition. That no more than four persons had survived to commemorate the acts of their countrymen is the complaint of Castaneda (1553), a laborious historian, who might converse with Gama himself, and who had exhausted the original archives of Lisbon and Goa. The narrative of the two African voyages of Cadamosta the Venetian is the only composition of the fifteenth century which has reached my knowledge:† that

* Covigliam himself related his adventures to Francesco Alvares, who was found in Abyssinia (1520), after an exile of thirty years. Viaggio della Ethiopia, c. 103. in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 254.

† See the Italian original of the narrative of M. Aluise da Cadamosta in the Collection of Ramusio, tom. i. folio 104—121; a Latin version in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus, and a French abstract in the Histoire Générale des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 285—321. Cadamosta left Venice August the 8th, A. D. 1454, at the age of twenty-two; he performed his two voyages in the years 1455 and 1456, and he finally quitted Portugal the 1st of February, 1463.

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curious navigator describes the scenes in which he was personally engaged; his fancy was not inflamed by patriotism; nor could his judgment be affected by any subsequent events. From this contemporary monument, I shall extract the purest idea of the primitive designs and discoveries of Prince Henry and his associates.

From his castle on the shores of the Atlantic, near Cape Lagos in Portugal, Prince Henry encouraged and improved the art of navigation, without trusting his person to the ocean. The trade between Italy and Flanders passed before him, and Cadamosta himself is an example how liberally he engaged the service of the most skilful seamen, and the bravest spirit of the age. His original motives were religion and chivalry: the master of the order of Christ was bound by the injunction of a dying father to pursue the Moors on the sea as well as on the land: but his zeal was soon directed by curiosity, and his curiosity was rewarded with the first fruits of commerce. His *Caravels*, which annually infested the coast of Azafi and Messa, were urged by his powerful voice beyond the tremendous capes of Non and Boyador; they slowly moved along a sandy desert of a thousand miles, which drinks the waters of the Atlantic, and explored the Senegal and the Gambia, that separate the countries of the whites and the blacks. From the fertile and populous banks of these rivers they still advanced to the south; but the Sierra Leone appears to be the most remote discovery of Prince Henry,

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Henry, who in the labour of forty years did not attain the term of the navigation of Hanno. But the Canaries, or Fortunate Islands, had emerged from the darkness of the middle age, and the vessels of Portugal were driven by the winds, or guided by the compass, to the more distant isles of Madeira and Cape Verd. The commercial profits of Prince Henry and his associates, which sometimes exceeded one thousand per cent. were derived from various sources. The settlement of Madeira had been rapid and useful; and the four colonies of the island consisted of eight hundred Christians, of whom one hundred were qualified to serve on horseback. A large quantity of cedar and rose-wood was annually exported, the sugar-canes which Prince Henry introduced surpassed in their produce those of Cyprus and Sicily, and the vines of Candia derived a new flavour from the soil and climate. A plentiful fishery atoned in some degree for the barrenness of the desert. Arguin was enriched by the inland trade; and the land of the Negroes afforded a fair promise of gold-dust, ivory and slaves.

It is curious to observe how strongly in this first interview the superiority of the *whites* was felt and acknowledged by the blacks. The Portuguese sails as they swelled to the wind were mistaken by the Azenaghis for enormous birds: when the ships lay at anchor near the shore they assumed the form of sea-monsters, and in their rapid motions they were likened to the spirits of the air and deep. The Negroes trembled at the sound and effect of the muskets

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muskets and cannon, one of which, as it was said, could destroy an hundred enemies at a single blast. They admired the dress and music, the arts, the luxury, the riches of the Europeans, who enjoyed their paradise in this world, and who surpassed in power and knowledge the magicians and perhaps the deities of Africa. But an opinion prevailed on the banks of the Gambia, that the black slaves, who were embarked in the foreign vessels, supplied with a grateful food the polite cannibals of Europe. If we follow the fate of these unhappy men, this false suspicion is rather favourable than injurious to Christian humanity.

Of the maritime nations of Europe the French have had the smallest share in the fame and benefits of the great naval discoveries. Yet their authors pretend, that they were the first, after the fall of the Roman empire, who sailed along the coast of Africa beyond the southern limit of the world. Before the year 1364, the ships of Normandy had penetrated as far as Cape Verd, the river Senegal, and the mountains of Sierra Leone; and in the month of September, 1365, an act of association was signed between the merchant adventurers of Dieppe and Rouen. The joint efforts of this trading company produced a rapid increase of wealth and knowledge: the domestic names of Paris and Dieppe were applied to the new factories on the coast of Guinea; and a French title is maintained to the original foundation (1383—1386) of the well known fort and settlement of St. George de la Mina. But the civil confusions of France were soon

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soon renewed by the insanity of Charles VI. (1392); the spirit of commerce and navigation evaporated; the sons of opulent traders aspired to the rank of gentlemen and soldiers; their African colonies were deserted or destroyed, and this French discovery vanished like a dream from the coast of Guinea and the memory of men.*

It is indeed a dream.—I will not deny that the Normans of the fourteenth century frequented the Atlantic Ocean, that their ships, returning with a cargo of Spanish wines, might be driven far away to the southward, and that the conquest of the Canary islands was first undertaken by a private gentleman of Normandy. But this offspring of national vanity, this fable of a Senegal and Guinea Company may be annihilated by some short and simple reflections. 1. Less than thirty years (1334—1364) cannot decently be assigned for the first and most laborious steps of the Atlantic navigation, and these years must fall on the calamitous reigns of Philip of Valois and his son John. The military strength of the kingdom was lost in the fields of Creçy and Poitiers: two hundred and thirty ships and thirty thousand seamen were destroyed in a naval engagement: Normandy was invaded by the English, Caen was pillaged; the miseries of war and faction aggravated each other; the wealth of France was drained for a king's ransom; and the

* See two works of Père Labat, L'Afrique Occidentale, tom. i. p. 6—16. and Voyage en Guinée, tom. i. p. 133. 238, &c. and likewise l'Histoire Générale des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 424. tom. iv. p. 2, &c.

great

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great plague swept away the third part of the human race. And was this a time?——2. The writers of the age are ignorant (and they could not have been ignorant) of these African discoveries. Such exploits would have been enrolled by the historians of Charles V. among the peaceful triumphs of his reign. Would not the archives of France and England afford some acts of regulation or favour to the Norman Company? Must not the new commodities of Guinea, gold-dust, ivory, and Negroes, have been soon noticed in the market of Bruges? Could the curious and vagrant Froissard never meet a talkative mariner who had sailed beyond the tropic? The fourteenth century might be inattentive to the benefits of trade; the genuine or specious miracles of an Atlantic voyage would have been transcribed and read as eagerly as a romance of chivalry or the legend of a saint. 3. The Portuguese may assert the faith of their own historians, but the Venetian Cadamosta was a contemporary and a stranger: and Cadamosta affirms that their discoveries were long checked by the supposed impossibility of passing Cape Boyador. Could such an impossibility have been supposed, if the French vessels had been seen within the memory of man steering an annual course to their Guinea settlements above twenty degrees southward of the impassable cape? 4. This pile of improbabilities is raised on an airy basis. I might peruse with attention the original act of association in the archives of Dieppe: but, alas! these archives have been consumed by fire (1694). I *will* smile at the reference to

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to some anonymous manuscripts in the library of a town lawyer, whose name is discreetly suppressed. Nor shall I deign to examine the collateral proofs, a vague appellation, a broken date, and the old attachment of the Negroes for the French nation. 5. The motive of this idle fiction may be easily detected. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Senegal and Guinea trade was actually exercised by the African Company of Dieppe and Rouen. These merchant adventurers were prompted by interest as well as pride to magnify the antiquity of their house, to claim the inheritance of the golden coast, and to urge, against the Portuguese, a prior right of discovery and possession.

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SELECTIONS

FROM

MR. GIBBON'S

EXTRAITS RAISONNÉS DE MES LECTURES,

FROM

THE JOURNAL,

FROM

THE RECUEIL DE MES OBSERVATIONS ET PIÈCES DÉTACHÉES, COMMON-PLACE BOOKS AND MEMORANDA.

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SELECTIONS, &c.

EXTRAITS RAISONNÉS DE MES LECTURES.

Dover, 14th March, 1761.

"LA lecture est à l'esprit ce que vos perdrix sont à mes joues," said the Duke of Vivonne to Lewis XIV. It is, in fact, the nourishment of the mind; for by reading, we know our Creator, his works, ourselves chiefly, and our fellow-creatures. But this nourishment is easily converted into poison. Salmasius had read as much as Grotius, perhaps more. But their different modes of reading made the one an enlightened philosopher; and the other, to speak plainly, a pedant puffed up with an useless erudition.

Let us read with method, and propose to ourselves an end to which all our studies may point. Through neglect of this rule, gross ignorance often disgraces great readers; who, by skipping hastily and irregularly from one subject to another, render themselves incapable of combining their ideas. So many detached parcels of knowledge cannot form a whole. This inconstancy weakens the energies of the mind, creates in it a dislike to application, and even robs it of the advantages of natural good sense.

Yet, let us avoid the contrary extreme; and re-

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spect method, without rendering ourselves its slaves. While we propose an end in our reading, let not this end be too remote; and when once we have attained it, let our attention be directed to a different subject. Inconstancy weakens the understanding: a long and exclusive application to a single object hardens and contracts it. Our ideas no longer change easily into a different channel, and the course of reading to which we have too long accustomed ourselves, is the only one that we can pursue with pleasure.

We ought besides, to be careful, not to make the order of our thoughts subservient to that of our subjects; this would be to sacrifice the principal to the accessory. The use of our reading is to aid us in thinking. The perusal of a particular work gives birth, perhaps, to ideas unconnected with the subject of which it treats. I wish to pursue these ideas; they withdraw me from my proposed plan of reading, and throw me into a new track, and from thence, perhaps, into a second, and a third. At length I begin to perceive whither my researches tend. Their result, perhaps, may be profitable; it is worth while to try: whereas, had I followed the high road, I should not have been able, at the end of my long journey, to retrace the progress of my thoughts.

This plan of reading is not applicable to our early studies, since the severest method is scarcely sufficient to make us conceive objects altogether new. Neither can it be adopted by those who read in order to write; and who ought to dwell on their subject till they have sounded its depths. These reflections,

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flections, however, I do not absolutely warrant. On the supposition that they are just, they may be so, perhaps, for myself only. The constitution of minds differs like that of bodies. The same regimen will not suit all. Each individual ought to study his own.

To read with attention, exactly to define the expressions of our author, never to admit a conclusion without comprehending its reason, often to pause, reflect, and interrogate ourselves; these are so many advices which it is easy to give, but difficult to follow. The same may be said of that almost evangelical maxim of forgetting friends, country, religion, of giving merit its due praise, and embracing truth wherever it is to be found.

But what ought we to read? Each individual must answer this question for himself, agreeably to the object of his studies. The only general precept that I would venture to give, is that of Pliny,* "to read much, rather than many things;" to make a careful selection of the best works, and to render them familiar to us by attentive and repeated perusals. Without expatiating on the authors so generally known and approved, I would simply observe, that in matters of reasoning, the best are those who have augmented the number of useful truths; who have discovered truths, of whatever nature they may be: in one word, those bold spirits, who quitting the beaten tract, prefer being in the wrong alone, to being in the right with the multitude. Such authors increase the number of our ideas, and even their mistakes are useful to

* Plinii Secundi Epist. lib. vii. epist. ix.

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their successors. With all the respect due to Mr. Locke, I would not, however, neglect the works of those academicians, who destroy errors without hoping to substitute truth in their stead. In works of fancy, invention ought to bear away the palm; chiefly that invention which creates a new kind of writing; and next, that which displays the charms of novelty, in its subject, characters, situations, pictures, thoughts, and sentiments. Yet this invention will miss its effect, unless it be accompanied with a genius, capable of adapting itself to every variety of the subject; successively sublime, pathetic, flowery, majestic, and playful; and with a judgment which admits nothing indecorous, and a style which expresses well whatever *ought* to be said. As to compilations, which are intended merely to treasure up the thoughts of others, I ask whether they are written with perspicuity, whether superfluities are lopped off, and dispersed observations skilfully collected; and agreeably to my answers to those questions, I estimate the merit of such performances.

When we have read with attention, there is nothing more useful to the memory than extracts. I speak not of those collections, or adversaria, which may be serviceable in their own way, but of extracts made with reflection, such as those of Photius, and of several of our modern journalists. I purpose in this manner to give an account to myself of my reading. My method will vary with the subject. In works of reasoning, I will trace their general plan, explain the principles established, and examine the consequences deduced from them.

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them. A philosopher is unworthy of the name, whose work is not most advantageously viewed as a whole. After carefully meditating my subject, the only liberty I shall take, is that of exhibiting it under an arrangement different perhaps from that of my author. Works of fancy contain beauties, both of plan and of execution: I shall be attentive to both. History, if little known, deserves an abridgment. I shall extract such particulars as are new. Throughout, I shall give my opinion with becoming modesty, but with the courage of a man unwilling to betray the rights of reason. In this compilement, I shall collect my scattered thoughts, with the reflections of every sort that occur in my search for truth. For I shall continue to search for the truth, though hitherto I have found nothing but probability.

Aug. 24th, 1761.]—I read Mr. Bonamy's Reflections upon the Geographical Errors occasioned by Alexander's Historians, Mem. xxv. p. 40—54; *very solid*: and M. de la Bleterie's Mem. upon the Tribunitian Power of the Emperors, Mem. xxv. p. 392—440; much inferior to his former dissertations.

25th.]—I read M. de la Nauze's Dissertation upon the ancient Roman Calendar, Mem. xxvi. p. 219—257; *most excellent*; I never understood the Roman Calendar before.

26th.]—I read M. de la Nauze a second time, and meditated him thoroughly.

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Aug. 28th.]—I read M. de Guigner's Memoir upon the Destruction of the Greek Monarchy in Bactriana, Mem. xxv. p. 17—34; *singular:* and M. d'Anville's upon the Nation and Religion of the Getæ, ib. p. 34—47; *judicious.*

Sept. 1st.]—I read the first Dissertation of the Count de Caylus, upon ancient Painting.

2d.]—I read the Count de Caylus's second Dissertation.

3d.]—I began M. de la Nauze's Memoir upon the Manner Pliny has treated of ancient Painting.

4th.]—I finished it.

5th.]—I read M. de Caylus's third Dissertation. Though Caylus has a much higher reputation, I should myself prefer De la Nauze; in French I should say, Celui-ci a écrit en homme de lettres amateur, celui-là en amateur homme de lettres. De la Nauze is learned, methodical, full of taste, perhaps sometimes not precise enough. Caylus's observations are without any plan, too minute, and sometimes, when stripped of their technical dress, injudicious. However, his comparison of the ancient and modern painters shews a knowledge of the beauties and masters of the art. They are both contained in tom. xxv. Mem. p. 149—302. I read the first Memoir of M. de Caylus upon ancient Sculpture.

6th.]—I read the second Memoir upon Sculpture, tom. xxv. p. 302—368. They are much superior to those upon painting; as the author probably never practised sculpture, he attaches himself less to the manual exercise of the art.

Sept.

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Sept. 7th.]—I read M. de Caylus upon the Mausoleum, tom. xxvi. p. 321—335.

8th.]—I read four parts of the Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, from July, 60, to July, 61; a plain, sensible journal.

11th.]—I read M. Freret's Observations upon the Marble of Paros, tom. xxvi. p. 157—219: the general remarks, interesting; the inquiry into the date of the death of Darius, ingenious and satisfactory; the whole very profound: and M. de Belley's Explanation of a Camayeu in the Duke of Orleans cabinet; very probable: tom. xxvi. p. 475—486.

12th.]—I read Belley's Explanation of an Agate in the Duke of Orleans' cabinet; *like the former:* tom. xxvi. p. 486—504: and M. d'Anville's Inquiry into the Source of the Nile; tom. xxvi. p. 34—46; leaves it as obscure as ever.

Oct. 2d.]—I ran over M. de la Beau's Memoir upon the Roman Legion, in tom. xxvi. of the Academy: one or two Epistles of Horace; with Dacier and Sanadon; and Soame Jenyns's Inquiry into the Origin of Evil; and perused for the second time, with infinite pleasure, M. de la Nauze's fine Memoir upon ancient Painting.

Feb. 8th, 1762.]—Having finished Hurd's Horace, given a second perusal to two principal discourses, and thoroughly meditated the whole subject, I began to make an *Extrait raisonné* of it. At the same time I employed my leisure moments in going through the famous *Argenis* of Barclay, with which I was much entertained; and, with a

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view to Homer, perused for the second time a very considerable part of Mezeriac's Ovid.

March 18th.]—I finished at last my abstract of Mr. Hurd, which consists of thirty pages in folio: though it took me up much more time than I imagined, by running into so unexpected a length, yet I do not regret it, as it started a new train of ideas upon many curious points of criticism. To get a little nearer to Homer, of whom I have never lost sight, I read the *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer.*

27th.]—At last I returned to Homer, and beginning where I had left off, read L. v. V. 1—404.

28th.]—Read of the Iliad L. v. V. 405—606. At the same time I resolved every day to learn, and write down, a certain number of the *Racines Grecques*; and to-day went through the four first.

29th.]—Learnt and wrote the *Racines Grecques*, Stang. 4—8. Read of the Iliad, L. v. V. 606—909; and beginning, for the second time, the Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, read page 1—56.

30th.]—Went through the *Racines Grecques*, from 8—12; but read no Homer.

31st.]—I read the *Inquiry*, page 56—80: went through *Racines Grecques*, 12—16; and reviewed the first three hundred lines of the fifth book of the Iliad.

April 1st.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 16—20; and reviewed the remaining six hundred lines of the fifth Iliad. I likewise read v. 215—295, of the eleventh Æneid, in relation to Æneas and Diomede.

April

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April 2d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 20—24. The method I pursue is this: after reading them attentively, I write them down from my memory, looking in the book as seldom as I can. I then repeat them twice; first mentioning the French word that answers to the Greek; then the Greek word that answers to the French. At last I repeat the French of every Greek root of the present, and two preceding days. I find this method, though dry, helps me very much.

3d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 24—28. Read the sixth book of the Iliad, from v. 325—529, the end.

6th.]—I only went through *Racines Grecques*, 32—36; and read the seventh book of the Iliad, v. 123—199.

7th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 36—40; and read the seventh book of the Iliad, v. 199—482.

8th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 40—44; reviewed the whole seventh book of the Iliad, and read the eighth, v. 1—40.

9th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 44—48; but read no Homer.

13th.]—I read the eighth book of the Iliad, v. 401—561, the end.

14th.]—In the morning I reviewed the whole eighth book of the Iliad; went through the *Racines Grecques*, 48—52, and finished the Inquiry, p. 216—335.

26th.]—I read great part of the second volume of *D'Alembert's Mélanges*; very sensible, and well written.

April

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April 29th.]—Read the *Bibliothèques des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, for *October*, *November*, and *December*, 1761. I found in it an extract of my Essay: they speak very highly of it, and promise great things of me, p. 368—380.

30th.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 1—306.

May 2d.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 306—542.

3d.]—I read of the Iliad, Lib. ix. v. 542—709, the end; and reviewed the first hundred lines of it.

5th.]—I read the tenth book of the Iliad, v. 70—879, and reviewed the whole book.

6th.]—I read the Æneid, L. ix. v. 126—502, in order to compare the story of Nisus and Euryalus related in it, with the night adventure in the Iliad. They have both beauties, but of a different kind. By his strong characters, and lively descriptions, Homer speaks powerfully to the curiosity and imagination of the reader. The amiable manners, tender friendship, and unhappy fate of Virgil's heroes, are truly pathetic, and make the deepest impression on the heart. I likewise read the eleventh book of the Iliad, v. 1—542. As I go on with Homer, he becomes much easier to me: I am master of a greater stock of words; the turn of his style, his dialects, and his poetical licences, are become more familiar to me.

8th.]—I reviewed the first four hundred and fifty lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad.

9th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines

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lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad; and read the twelfth, v. 1—309. I likewise consulted Mezeriac's Ovid, tom. i. p. 171—179, in relation to the omens from the flight of birds, in order to understand the speech of Hector to Polydamus. From the materials which Mezeriac laid before me, I conceived a much clearer notion of the subject than he had himself.

May 10th.]—I received a letter from Mr. Scott, in which, according to his promise, he lays down for me a course of studies, both in the pure and mixed mathematics; pointing out the merit and defects of the principal writers in every branch of them. I can hardly put any of his directions in practice before next winter. I read, to-day, of the Iliad, L. xii. v. 309—471, the end, reviewing the whole twelfth book; and read L. xii. v. 1—273.

11th.]—Read the Iliad, L. xiii. v. 273—837, the end, and reviewed the first five hundred lines of that book.

12th.]—I reviewed the remaining three hundred and forty lines of the thirteenth book of the Iliad; and read the fourteenth, v. 1—108. My diligence to-day was much inferior to the preceding ones.

14th.]—I received from London two volumes of *Mémoires Militaires sur les Grecs et sur les Romains, par M. Guichardt.* The author, who was in the Dutch, and is now, I believe, in the Prussian service, proposes to correct the numerous mistakes of the Chevalier de Folard, and to explain the principal military actions of the ancients according to their best historians, and the true principles

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ciples of their tactics. This book drew me away for some time from Homer; I read, but in a cursory manner, the first volume.

May 15th.]—I read, but in the same cursory manner, the second volume of *Guichardt's Mémoires.*

16th.]—I began to read the *Mémoires Militaires* a second time; but with more attention. I read the preface, which is very judicious, and the four first chapters. The first is on the blockade of Agrigentum by the Romans in the first Punic war; and gives a clear idea of the superior advantages of the Roman intrenchments above our modern lines. The second is the battle of Tunis, between Regulus and Xantippus. Folard, explaining Polybius, blames Regulus for the only thing for which his author had commended him. The third is the battle of Macar, where the amazing manœuvres of Amilcar are displayed with great precision. The fourth, on the battle of the Adda, is a complete treatise on the Roman legion, very satisfactory as to the times of Polybius; very little so as to those of Cæsar.

17th.]—I read the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of the Mémoires. The fifth is the combat of the Ticinum; many good remarks on the ancient cavalry: the sixth is the battle of Trebia; the author illustrates still further the way of drawing up the legion, and explains the several manœuvres of the two armies very clearly: the seventh is a very insignificant affair at Germinem; but the eighth is the battle of Cannæ, the master-

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piece of Hannibal, of Polybius, and, perhaps, of M. Guichardt. The columns of Folard, and the impracticable manœuvres of the Gauls disappear, and the art of Hannibal appears refined, but rational.

May 18th.]—I read the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the Mémoires. Ninth, a very insignificant affair at Caphyæ, between the weak Aratus and some Æolian freebooters. Tenth, the battle of Mantinea, between Machanidas and Philopœmen: small numbers and refined art on both sides. Eleventh, the battle between Scipio and Asdrubal in Spain. M. Folard's columns, generally ideal, were really employed by Scipio in a superior manner. Twelfth, the battle of Zama; the merit of the generals, though great, being equal, left the victory to the bravest troops.

19th.]—I read the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the Mémoires. Thirteenth, the battle of Cynocephala. Philip had formed a good plan, but did not know how to alter it, though he might have gained the victory. Fourteenth, the battle of the Granicus: Alexander's impetuosity seems directed by more military skill than is commonly thought. Fifteenth, the battle of Arbela, a complete practical lecture on the art of war; but are we indebted for that lecture to Alexander or to Arrian? The sixteenth, the blockade of Alisia: M. Guichardt does honour to Cæsar by diminishing the extent and number of his works: we can now both understand and believe them.

May

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May 20th.]—I began the second volume of the Mémoires, and read the dissertation upon the attack and defence of places by the ancients; very clear and accurate. Their real methods are well described, and M. Guichardt proves, against the Chevalier de Folard, that they knew nothing of the modern trenches.

21st.]—I read in the Mémoires the translation of the military institutions of Onozander, full of that common-place sense which every one can write, and no one can deny.

22d.]—I read the Tactics of Arrian, translated in the Mémoires. They are very curious and exact, and give a very clear notion of the nature, arms, and discipline of the phalanx; but it is very odd Arrian should rather compile these Tactics from Greek writers, than write from his own knowledge an account of the Roman legions, which he had himself seen and commanded.

23d.]—I read the Analysis of Cæsar's Campaign in Africa. Every motion of that great general is laid open with a critical sagacity. A complete military history of his campaigns would do almost as much honour to M. Guichardt as to Cæsar. This finished the Mémoires, which gave me a much clearer notion of ancient tactics than I ever had before. Indeed, my own military knowledge was of some service to me, as I am well acquainted with the modern discipline and exercise of a battalion. So that though much inferior to M. Folard and M. Guichardt, who had seen service, I am a much better judge than Salmasius, Casaubon, or Lipsius;

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Lipsius; mere scholars, who perhaps had never seen a battalion under arms.

May 26th.]—I read the Chevalier de Folard's Supplement to his Polybius, vide Le Polybe de Folard, tom. vii. p. 1—42. It shews the man of genius in every line; it consists chiefly of curious anecdotes, mistaken quotations, and whimsically ingenious observations. I likewise read the third letter of *Les Sentimens d'un Homme de Guerre*, in the same volume, p. 208—235. This Homme de Guerre was M. de Savornin, major-general in the Dutch service. He is certainly in the right in observing, that the Romans in general, and Cæsar at Pharsalia in particular, drew up their troops in three lines; but he has a most minute, heavy, and perplexed way of writing. I discovered a passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, l. i. c. 83, which is the key of the tactics of his age. Had M. Guichardt known of it, he might have avoided several mistakes.

31st.]—Before I left Blandford I finished the first six volumes of *Fontenelle*, which contain "*toute la force et toute la fleur de son esprit.*" I read them at my leisure hours with great pleasure, particularly *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes*, *Histoire du Théâtre François*, &c. and the *Eloges des Académiciens*. The *Histoire des Oracles*, though excellent, is somewhat superficial. The Dialogues of the Dead are (if I may speak French) *une débauche de raisonnement*, as the Lettres du Chevalier d'Her . . . . *une débauche d'esprit et de galanterie*. I acknowledge all the defects of the Eclogues, but some of them are charming. I resolved

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resolved to substitute for my leisure hours the *Bibliothèque* of *Le Clerc*, as an inexhaustible source of amusement and instruction, and accordingly began with the first volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle.*

June 6th.]—I formed a design, (but I doubt whether I shall find time to execute it,) to give part of my day to Homer and part to Quintilian; that is, to unite the example with the precept. Accordingly I began with Quintilian, in Burman's edition, read his article in Bayle's Dictionary, the preface of Burman; Burman was a mere critic, without being (in my opinion) a good one, since a good critic must reason well; and Burman never could reason at all. I began likewise the *Annales Quintilianæi* of Dodwell, and read c. 1—3.

7th.]—I continued the Annals, and read c. 3—20.

8th.]—I read the Annals, c. 20—47, which (including the Synopsis Chronologica) finished the Treatise. Dodwell's learning was immense; in this part of history especially, (that of the Upper Empire,) the most minute fact or passage could not escape him; and his skill in employing them is equal to his learning. The worst of this author is his method and style; the one perplexed beyond imagination, the other negligent to a degree of barbarism.

9th.]—I read of the Iliad, l. xiv. v. 1—522, the end. It required all the *éclat* of Homer's poetry to reconcile us to Jupiter's being deceived and laid asleep.

June

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June 10th.]—I reviewed the fourteenth book of the Iliad, and read the fifteenth, v. 1—220. The scene of Jupiter and Neptune pleases me infinitely; besides the natural greatness of the action and actors, heightened by a most spirited narration, it gives a clearer idea of the Greek polytheism than the laborious researches of half our modern critics and divines.

11th.]—I read the fifteenth book of the Iliad, v. 220—746, the end. The remainder of this book is a continued and not very interesting battle. What chiefly distinguishes it, are some of the finest similies I have yet met with in the Iliad; and a variety of short speeches, of a truly spirited and military eloquence.

13th.]—I read the sixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1—113.

14th.]—I wrote a note on page 30 of my *Essai sur l'Etude de la Littérature*, containing a passage of Florus, and another of Propertius; with observations on the latter.

17th.]—I finished the first volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliothèque Universelle*. I shall just mention the most curious books that are abstracted in it. Hugonis Grotii Epistolæ, Amsterdam, 1696, p. 1—29, and 121—166, curious and instructive. Temporum Mythicorum Historia, p. 245—280. I believe Le Clerc himself is the author. It is an ingenious application of a common principle; viz. that the heroic fables are only the Phœnician history corrupted, and their language misunderstood. *Clementis Galani Historia Armena Coloniæ*, 1686,

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a true missionary's account, full of curious facts and religious prejudices. *Lightfooti Opera omnia, Roterodami*, 1686. A classical author on a subject very little so. Lightfoot, by constant reading of the Rabbies, was almost become a Rabbin himself.

June 19th.]—I read the sixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 113—367, the end, and wrote a note on p. 79 of my Essai, containing some instances of the number, rarity, and variety of the animals produced in the amphitheatre of Rome; and taken from the writers of the Augustan history, with the remarks of Casaubon and Salmasius.

21st.—I reviewed the first hundred lines of the sixteenth book of the Iliad: the fierceness and anger of Achilles softened by friendship. The mild, amiable, and yet spirited character of Patroclus are admirably described and contrasted. Homer never shines more than in these moral pictures.

22d.]—I reviewed the remaining seven hundred and fifty lines of the sixteenth book of the Iliad. The description of the arms, leaders, &c. Achilles's speech to them, and his prayer, are solemn, and fill the mind with great ideas and expectations. They are fulfilled. Of all the heroes that fall throughout the Iliad, I pity none so much as Sarpedon; he was as amiable a character as Patroclus, and a much greater one. I read the seventeenth book, v. 1—105. I likewise, to understand the sixteenth, v. 234, consulted *Strabo, l. vii. p.* 327, 328; a Mémoire of M. de la Nauze, *Mém. de Littérature, tom vii. p.* 154—147; and one of M. Hardion,

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Hardion, *Mém. de Littérature, tom. iii. p.* 138—141. Strabo is far from intelligible; the two Frenchmen treat their subject only incidentally, and were misled by their erroneous, confined notion of the *Pelasgi*. However, from these and my own reflections, I formed a pretty clear idea of *Dodona* and the *Selli*.

June 23d.]—I read the seventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 105—505.

24th.]—I finished the second volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. This volume contains, p. 20—51, *P. Limborchi Theologia Christiana, Amstelod.* 1686. Moderate and judicious, the general character of the Arminian divines.—*Petri Petiti de Sybillâ, Libri tres, Lips.* 1686. A strange mixture of learning and credulity.—P. 154—184, *Historia Genevrina, par Gregorio Leti.* Leti is a most agreeable historian; a little more regard to truth and exactness would have made him an instructive one.—*Life and Letters of Archbishop Usher, London*, 1686, *p.* 220—262. Accurate, as written by his chaplain; but this chaplain is both too long and too short.—*Méthode de dresser des Recueils, par M. Locke, p.* 315—340.—The exactness and perspicuity of that great man are seen in that trifle.—*Description de l'Afrique traduite du Flamand, par M. Dapper, p.* 340—386. Very curious.—*Contra Aristeæ Historiam de LXX Interpretibus Dissertatio, par Hum. Hody. Oxon* 1685; and *Isaac Vossii Observationum in Pomponium Melam Appendix, Lond.* 1686, *p.* 386—416. I think, after having read these two disputants,

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that the question is far more perplexed that before.

June 26th.]—I read the seventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 505—761, the end, and reviewed the first two hundred and fifty lines of it. The amiable character of Patroclus had made every reader his friend whilst alive, and we interest ourselves in the fate of his remains, which are so obstinately disputed.

28th.]—I finished the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, for January, February, and March 1762. It contains *Œuvres du Cancelier d'Aguesseau, Paris*, 1761, p. 1—20. They breathe a noble spirit of eloquence and virtue.—*Eutropii Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ, cum Notis varior. par Henric. Verheyk. Lugd. Bat.* 1762, p. 88—100. Superior to all other editions, even to that of Havercamp.—*Zimmermanni Opera Theologica et Philosophica, p.* 154—181. Moderate and sensible.

29th.]— I reviewed the remaining five hundred lines of the seventeenth book of the Iliad. It is a continued battle, but is yet very interesting, from the unity and importance of the action, the various turns of fortune, and the equality of the two parties; the one depending on their natural courage, the other on the protection of Jupiter. I am particularly pleased with the sorrow of Achilles's horses, and the reflection of Jupiter, v. 426, &c. I likewise read the eighteenth book, v. 1—238, and consulted some remarks of *M. Galland*, Hist. de l'Académ. des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p. 104—108, on

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on the trumpets of the ancients in relation to v. 219 of this book.

June 30th.]—I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 238—478.

July 1st.]—I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 478—616, the end.

2d.]—I reviewed the whole eighteenth book of the Iliad. Homer is never more thoroughly awake: the first part of it shews him to be a perfect master of the tender passions. Achilles receives the news of the death of Patroclus, with a mixture of fury and tenderness suitable to his character. We begin to love him; and the very excess of his rage, though terrible, pleases us, because it is directed only against the murderer of his friend. The second part, or the description of the shield, is a fine landscape. I read the description of the shield of Æneas in Virgil, l. viii. v. 369—454, and 597—731. Virgil's description is the finer piece of poetry; Homer's, the juster representation of a work of art. I read, with the same view, some remarks of the Abbé Fraguier on the origin of painting. *Hist. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p.* 75—89. Elegant and instructive, but somewhat vague. I likewise read the whole nineteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1—424, the end, and consulted *Potter's Archæologia Greca*, vol. i. p. 246—261, in relation to the ceremonies observed by the ancients in their oaths. I also finished, today, *the Journal des Savans, and the Mémoires de Trevoux for December*, 1761. They contain little more than *de Inscriptione quâdam Egyptiacâ*

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Taurini inventâ Decembre, p. 334—345. Mr. Needham pretended that these Egyptian letters were the same as the old Chinese characters. The similitude is here contested.—*Observations sur les Systèmes des P. P. Hardouin et Berruyer.* The object is to prove, the society always disapproved the visions of these two writers. There is much artifice, and some curious anecdotes, in these observations. I believe that the Jesuits were innocent in this respect.

July 7th.]—I finished the *Mémoires de Trevoux*, and the *Journal des Savans for Januury*, 1762. The Journal contains *Tragédies de Sophocle, traduites, par M. Dupuy de l'A. R. des I. et B. L.* p. 3—15. Elegant, exact, and a great addition to French literature.—*L'Antro Eleusino, &c. par M. Bartoli*, p. 49—58. Ingenious, but very doubtful.—The Memoirs *Anniæ Senecæ de Brevitate Vitæ*, p. 149—163. One of the best extracts I ever read.—*Le Pitture Antiche d'Hercolano*, p. 216—225. Ancient, and therefore curious.

8th.]—I reviewed the first hundred and fifty lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad. The generous character of Achilles raises him every moment higher in the esteem of the reader; his care for the dead body, the spirited frankness of his reconciliation, and his impatience for the combat. I finished the *Journal des Savans* and *Mémoires de Trevoux for February*, 1762. The Journal contains *Thom. Hyde de Religione veterum Persarum*, p. 289—301; a new edition, with long and trifling notes on an excellent book. *Idylles de*

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de Gesner traduites de l'Allemand, p. 380—397. Un Allemand ne peut-il pas être bel esprit? The Memoirs contain *Explication d'un Passage d'Hérodote*, 405—427. A happy solution of a difficult passage in l. ii. c. 142, only by explaining the word Ηλιος, an annual revolution of the sun.

July 9th.]—I finished the *Mém. de Trevoux for March*. They contain little more than *la Bibliomanie*, p. 167—176; severe and spirited; and *Dissertation sur l'Ecriture Hiéroglyphique*. Original. He pretends that there never were any; but I think his proofs too weak for such a paradox.

11th.]—I reviewed the remaining two hundred and seventy lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad, and think the long debate between Achilles and Ulysses might have been shortened, though the speeches of the first are highly characteristical; nothing can surpass the sublime description of his arming himself for battle. I likewise read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 1—258; and when I was at church, followed the second lesson with my Greek Testament in my hand; it was the 23d chapter of St. Luke. I find this method both useful and agreeable, and intend to keep it up whenever I go to church. I finished the *Journal des Savans*, and *Mémoires de Trevoux for April*, 1762. The first contains *Aristophanis Comœdiæ à P. Burmanno*; good, but inferior to Kuster's: and the *Grammaire Françoise Philosophique de M. d'Acarq*, truly deserving of that name; the second *République de Platon*. The translation appears good; I am sure the extract is so.

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July 12th.]—I read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 258—503, the end.

13th.]—I reviewed the whole twentieth book of the Iliad. The battle of the gods is worthy of every thing Longinus says of it. It would be difficult to find another example which reunites so thoroughly every part of the sublime, both as to thoughts and language. The combat of Achilles and Æneas is very animated and picturesque; and the long speech of Æneas, though faulty, and even ridiculous upon the whole, does honour in its details both to the poet and the historian. I finished the *Journal des Savans, et Mém. de Trevoux for May, 1762, part the first.* The Mem. contain nothing: in the Journal there is *Callimachi Hymni ab Ernesti. Lugd. Bat.* The text is exactly reviewed, and the version is a new one.—*Vie de M. Bossuet par M. de Burigny.* Exact and judicious.

14th.]—The twentieth book of Homer, and particularly the speech of Æneas, drew on a variety of discussions. In order to understand the genealogy of Dardanus, I read *Apollodori Biblioth.* l. iii. c. 11. p. 205—215, in Greek; I then consulted Strabo, l. xiii. p. 607—608; and some difficulties arising about the word ὑπωρεια, as Plato explained it, the lower part of the hills, which were inhabited after the deluge, before men dared venture down into the plain, I read a dissertation upon the deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion, by the learned Freret, *Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres,* tom. xxiii. p. 129—148, who, from a chain of authorities,

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thorities, shews, incontestibly, that a deluge was unknown to Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus; that the first who speak of it (Plato himself, Pindar, and Apollodorus) expressly confined it to Greece, and intimate that a great number were saved; that afterwards, the Greeks mixing their traditions with those of the Jews and the Chaldeans, swelled the deluge of Deucalion into an universal one; but that it never obtained general credit before the time of Plutarch and Lucian. Afterwards, to be well acquainted with Æneas, I read *Strabo, l. xiii. p.* 692—693; *Mezeriac's Ovid, vol. ii. p.* 142—146, *and* 153--168; and a Dissertation upon the Julian family, by the Abbé Vatry, *Mém. de l'Académie,* vol. xvi. p. 414—424. Mezeriac, as usual, compiles without a thought of reasoning; but from the sensible criticisms of the others, it appears that Æneas's posterity probably reigned in Phrygia in the time of Homer, and that his voyage to Italy is a fable invented by the Greeks about the time of Alexander. *N. B.* The Greek authors whom I consulted, I read in Greek. I likewise read the twenty-first book of the Iliad, v. 1—135, and finished the second part of May, *Journal des Savans,* and *Mém. de Trevoux.* The first contains a better extract of the *Dissertations sur l'Ecriture Hiéroglyphique* than the Memoirs had given. I now see that the new system is absolutely indefensible. The second speaks of *Histoire du Siècle d'Alexandre, par M. Linguet:* I suspect that they speak too slightly of the book. However that may be, the

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the author is certainly a man of genius, whom I should like to know.

July 15th.]—I read only that most contemptible performance the *Vie du Maréchal Duc de Belleisle, par M. de C . . . . .*

16th.]—I read the twenty-first book of the Iliad, v. 136—611, the end.

18th.]—I did nothing but go to church. The lessons were the 12th of 2 Samuel, and the 5th of St. John's Gospel, both of which I read in Greek.

23d.]—I finished the third volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliothèque Universelle*, which concludes the year 1686. It contains *Explication Historique de la Fable d'Adonis.* He thinks that Adonis, or Osiris, was the son of Hammon or Cham, and grandson of Cinyras, or Noah; and that the incest of Myrrah with her father, was the discovery of Noah's nakedness by his children. But this interpretation is very far-fetched, and can only suit the followers of Ephemerus.—*Bibliothèque Universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, par Dupin.* Curious and impartial. —Life of Hai Ebn Yokhdan. A fine, though irregular, production of Arabian genius and philosophy.—*The Works of Dr. Barrow.* Barrow was as much of a philosopher as a divine could well be.—*Commentaire Philosophique.* The most useful work Bayle ever wrote, and the least sceptical.—*Puffendorfii Commentarius de Rebus Suecicis.* Exact, heavy, and partial.

24th.]—In order to get a clear idea of those oracles so often mentioned by Homer, and so essential a part of the Grecian religion, I read three dissertations

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tations of M. Hardion, inserted in the third volume of the Memoirs of the Academy upon the Oracle of Delphi, p. 137—191; and some observations of M. de Valois, tom. iii. historical part, p. 73—79; and, drawn away by the affinity of the subject, I likewise read two dissertations of the same M. de Valois, upon the Amphictyons, the guardians of this temple, tom. iii. p. 191—228, and tom. v. p. 405—415.

July 25th.]—I read the history which M. de la Valois has given us of the two sacred wars, which the Amphyctions decreed to avenge the sacrileges committed at Delphi, tom. vii. p. 201—239; tom. ix. p. 97—113, and tom. xii. p. 177—204. Besides the light that these pieces throw on the Greek religion, they are valuable for the knowledge they give us of that civil and religious bond of union in the Hellenic body, which for some ages rendered it invincible.

28th.]—I read the articles of Jupiter and Juno, in Bayle's Dictionary. That of Jupiter is very superficial. Juno takes up seventeen pages; but great part of it, as usual, very foreign to the purpose. A long inquiry when horns began to be an emblem of cuckoldom; numberless reflections, some original, and others very trivial; and a learning chiefly confined to the Latin writers. When he doubted if Juno was really worshipped at Carthage, why did not he quote Minucius Felix? *V. octav. p. 259, edit. Gronov.* Upon the whole, I believe that Bayle had more of a certain multifarious reading, than real erudition. Le Clerc, his great

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great antagonist, was as far superior to him in that respect, as inferior in every other. I reviewed the first two hundred lines of the twenty-first book of the Iliad. There is great dignity of sentiment, and a calm sternness, in the answer of Achilles to the moving prayers of the unfortunate Lycaon.

July 29th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines of the twenty-first book of the Iliad. The combat of Achilles and the Scamander is finely described. If Homer, when he speaks of the Gods, does not rise in his sentiments, at least he does in his language and poetry. I likewise read some very sensible and curious observations of the Abbé de Fonterne, *Sur le Culte des Divinités des Eaux; Histoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. p. 27—49.

30th.]—I read the twenty-second book of the Iliad, v. 1—515, the end.

August 1st.]—I read the lessons at church in Greek, viz. the thirteenth chapter of the first book of Kings, and the twenty-first of St. John's Gospel. How very free a version the Septuagint is! for I imagine ours is a very literal one.

2d.]—I reviewed the whole twenty-second book of the Iliad, in which the whole interest of the preceding books is wound up in the lives of Hector and Achilles. Notwithstanding the reasons given by Mr. Pope, every reader of taste must be disgusted with Hector's flight. The true grounds of courage were not well understood, and poetry had not learnt the art of raising an hero without debasing his enemies. The fears and lamentations of

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of Hector's family are beautifully pathetic; but I think that Andromache is rather too much the mother, and too little the wife. As I am now entering upon the twenty-third book, which contains the funeral of Patroclus, I read the eight first chapters of the fourth book of Archbishop Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 160—241, upon the Grecian Funerals. They contain a great fund of learning, without any useless digressions.

August 3d.]—I began M. de Burette's set of Dissertations in the Memoirs of the Academy, on the Gymnastics of the Ancients: they are learned and judicious, but too full of fruitless, and therefore frivolous, inquiries into the origin and etymology of every art. I read to-day, only *Observations générales sur la Gymnastique*, Hist. tom. i. p. 89—104; and first *Mémoire sur la Danse*, Mém. tom. i. p. 93—117.

4th.]—I read second *Mémoire sur la Danse*, tom. i. Mem. p. 117—136; *Mémoire sur la Sphæristique*, p. 117—153; and first *Mémoire sur les Athlètes*, p. 211—237.

5th.]—I read second and third *Mémoires sur les Athlètes*, p. 237—291; and *Mémoire sur la Lutte*, tom. iii. Mém. p. 228—255.

6th.]—I read the several Mémoires of M. de Burette, *sur le Pugilat, la Course, le Pentathle, et le Disque*, tom. iii. Mém. p. 255—343. Having finished these, I read three Dissertations of the Abbé Gedoyn, *sur les Courses des Cheveaux et des Chars, surtout au Jeux Olympiques, tom. viii. p.* 314—330; and 330—341; and *tom. ix. Mém. p.* 360

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360—376; and *a Mémoire of M. de la Barre, on the same subject; tom. ix. Mem. p.* 376—397. Gedoyn is polite and curious, but somewhat pert and superficial. De la Barre is difficult to be understood, but is worth studying, for he is very ingenious as well as learned. There is a great dispute what was the length of the Olympic course for chariots. Burette makes it twenty-four stadia, or twelve revolutions of one stadium: Gedoyn, eight stadia, or one revolution of four stadia: De la Barre, forty-eight stadia, or six revolutions of four stadia: Mr. West, (v. West's Pindar, vol. ii. p. 135.) forty-eight stadia, or twelve revolutions of two stadia. I have not room for their reasons; but I am of De la Barre's opinion. When one reads these Dissertations, one admires the active spirit of the Greeks, sensible to every species of entertainment and glory; who could at the same time, and with the same application, bring to perfection, dancing and philosophy, boxing and poetry.

August 7th.]—I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 1—257.

8th.]—I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 257—897; and the articles of *Lemnos*, *Hercules*, and the greatest part of *Helena*, in Bayle. If Bayle wrote his dictionary to empty the various collections he had made, without any particular design, he could not have chosen a better plan. It permitted him every thing, and obliged him to nothing. By the double freedom of a dictionary and of notes, he could pitch on what articles he pleased, and say what he pleased on those articles. When I con-

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I consider all that Homer says of the isle of Lemnos, and the extensive trade it carried on, both with Phœnicia, (Iliad, xxiii. v. 743.) and with the Greek army before Troy, (v. Iliad, l. vii. v. 467—475, and l. xxi. v. 40.), I am amazed to see the more modern poets represent that habitation of the unfortunate Philoctetes as an island totally desolate and uninhabited.

Aug. 10th.]—I reviewed only the first hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. The sullen grief into which Achilles sinks, is not less expressive of his character, than his violent rage in the preceding books. The apparition of Patroclus is the opening of a new world, of Homer's creation.

11th.]—I reviewed the next two hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. This day I finished the *Mémoires d'Anne d'Autriche, par Madame de Motteville*, one of her greatest favourites. They are written in a natural, unaffected style; and it is a proof of the author's sincerity, that though she had a very high opinion of her mistress, the candour with which she relates facts shews us Anne of Austria as she really was; a proud and silly woman, who abandoned herself to a favourite out of indolence, supported him through obstinacy, and began at last to hate him, when he began to affect an independence. There is perhaps no period of history for which we have better materials than for the minority of Lewis XIV. The fashion of memoir-writing was very prevalent, and many of all ranks and all parties have left us accounts, both of those troubles and of their secret springs.

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springs. The character of the French nation, neither soured by religion nor constrained by slavery, appears with freedom and boldness; brave and inconstant; obsequious to the ladies; treating the greatest events with a careless gaiety; running into civil wars without principle, and supporting them without rancour or cruelty. None of these wars ever were founded on any settled plan of liberty; the princes and the noblesse made it only in hopes of obtaining (as they commonly did) advantageous conditions in the treaty of peace. The honest part of the parliament were affected only by present evils, and thought only of temporary reliefs. They inveighed against a new tax, and demanded the removal of a disagreeable minister. The only law of a durable kind which they ever planned, was in the nature of a Habeas Corpus bill; that every prisoner, in twenty-four hours after his confinement, should be interrogated by the parliament as to the nature of his crime. But they supported this salutary proposal very feebly; suffered the ministry to extend the term to six months, and at last neglected it so far as not to have it ratified by the peace of *Ruel.* V. *Mémoires,* tom. ii. p. 139. 337. 363. and tom. iii. p. 51, &c. These Mémoires are printed at Amsterdam, 1723, in five volumes 12mo.

August 12th.]—I reviewed the remaining six hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. It is a fine picture of the manners of the heroic ages: the games celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus contain a great variety of both their civil and religious customs, related with a clearness and a circum-

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cumstantialness very disagreeable to the taste of a true commentator. Indeed, the more I read the ancients, the more I am persuaded that the originals are our best commentators. In this article of ancient gymnastics (for instance), when I have read with care Homer, Pausanias, and some few more ancients, M. Burette has little to teach me, excepting perhaps what he may have picked up from some obscure passages of some obscure lexicographer. What I say is not, however, to proscribe the use, but to restrain the abuse, of modern critics. As to the poetical beauties of the twenty-third book, they are great and various. I know of few better proofs of the fertility of Homer's invention, than the variety of natural incidents which he has introduced into the chariot-race. That of Menelaus and Antilochus is beautiful in the *manners*. I wish that I could say as much of the quarrel of Idomeneus and Ajax. I think, however, that the chariot-race bears no proportion to the rest, which indeed appears to a disadvantage, both by being placed after it and a little *étranglé*.

Aug. 13th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. i—361. We returned to Beriton. I read the reign of King James I. in Hume's first volume of the Stuarts, with a view to Raleigh; and afterwards perused the sixth book of Virgil, and the system of Warburton upon it, in the first volume of his Divine Legation, and found many things to say, to explain the one and destroy the other.

14th.]—I think it was pretty well to read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 361—457, considering

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sidering I was out from seven in the morning to ten at night.

Aug. 15th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 467—805, the end; and reviewed the first hundred and fifty lines of it. The saving Hector's body, and the appeasing Achilles's wrath, seems to be the great object both of heaven and earth, excepting of the implacable Juno. Indeed, the great attention of the gods towards Achilles, seems rather a fear of offending, than a desire of favouring him. The last sentiment would exalt the hero, the first would debase the gods, and be highly ridiculous even in the Pagan mythology. I likewise read in Bayle the articles of *Achillea*, *Achilles*, *Ajax Telamon*, *Ajax Oïleus*, *Alcinous*, *Andromache*, *Amphitryon*, and *Alcmena*; all, excepting Achilles, very short ones. Bayle is as exactly circumstantial in these important trifles, as Mezeriac himself. How could such a genius employ three or four pages, and a great apparatus of learning, to examine whether Achilles was fed with marrow only; whether it was the marrow of lions and stags, or that of lions only, &c.? Bayle does not, in my opinion, sufficiently esteem Homer.

16th.]—I reviewed the remaining six hundred lines of the twenty-fourth and last book of the Iliad. The interview of Achilles and Priam is (in my opinion) superior to any part of the Iliad. It is at once the *coup de théâtre* and the *tableau* of *Diderot*. Nothing can be a more striking *coup de théâtre* than the unhappy monarch, who appears at once in the enemy's camp and at the feet of the mur-

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murderer of his son. At the same time the various passions and the fine philosophy that distinguishes the conversation between them, form a most beautiful *tableau.*

I have at last finished the Iliad. As I undertook it to improve myself in the Greek language, which I had totally neglected for some years past, and to which I never applied myself with a proper attention, I must give a reason why I begun with Homer, and that contrary to Le Clerc's advice. I had two, 1st, As Homer is the most ancient Greek author (excepting perhaps Hesiod) who is now extant; and as he was not only the poet, but the lawgiver, the theologian, the historian, and the philosopher, of the ancients, every succeeding writer is full of quotations from, or allusions to, his writings, which it would be difficult to understand, without a previous knowledge of them. In this situation, was it not natural to follow the ancients themselves, who always begun their studies by the perusal of Homer? 2dly, No writer ever treated such a variety of subjects. As every part of civil, military, or economical life is introduced into his poems, and as the simplicity of his age allowed him to call every thing by its proper name, almost the whole compass of the Greek tongue is comprised in Homer. I have so far met with the success I hoped for, that I have acquired a great facility in reading the language, and treasured up a very great stock of words. What I have rather neglected is, the grammatical construction of them, and especially the many various inflexions of the

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verbs. In order to acquire that dry, but necessary branch of knowledge, I propose bestowing some time every morning on the perusal of the *Greek Grammar of Port Royal*, as one of the best extant. I believe that I read nearly one half of Homer like a mere schoolboy, not enough master of the words to elevate myself to the poetry. The remainder I read with a good deal of care and criticism, and made many observations on them. Some I have inserted here, for the rest I shall find a proper place. Upon the whole, I think that Homer's few faults (for some he certainly has) are lost in the variety of his beauties. I expected to have finished him long before. The delay was owing partly to the circumstances of my way of life and avocations, and partly to my own fault; for while every one looks on me as a prodigy of application, I know myself how strong a propensity I have to indolence.

About the 26th or 33d Olympiad, Terpander of Lesbos composed the νομοι, the airs or tunes proper for singing to the cithara the verses of Homer in the public games. See the Treatise of Plutarch on Music, with the Remarks of Burette, in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. x. p. 116, 213—224.

Aug. 19th.]—As my books were not come, and Madame de Motteville had left my head full of Louis the XIVth and his court, I took in hand my friend Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV*. It will employ some few leisure hours, and will afford me great entertainment.

Once more in possession of some necessary books,

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books, I returned to my present great object, the study of Homer; but before I proceed to the Odyssey, I determined to read several things which might conduce to the better understanding him. I read this morning, *Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronicus, &c.* p. 433—446, edit. Franquer, 1696; where he treats of Homer and Hesiod; and in speaking of the first, explains, in a few words, all that is to be found in the ancients concerning his country, age, fate of his writings, and progress of his reputation. I cannot help wondering at the blind deference which he pays to the oracular authority of the Parian marble: "*De eâ re agitur* (the age of Homer) *non est amplius ambigendum.*" I respect that monument, as an useful, as an uncorrupt monument of antiquity; but why should I prefer its authority to that of Herodotus, for instance? It is more modern, its author is uncertain. We know not from what sources he drew his chronology, nor how far he was qualified to draw it properly. However, as to the age of Homer, I abide by his decision; because I can (whatever diversity appeared to Sir John) reconcile it with several of the most approved authors. That learned writer did not consider, that in fixing the time when a great man flourished, several historians may differ from one another, without differing from truth; because they fixed it from different eras of his life. In that of Fontenelle, the fixing his date either from his birth (1657), or from his writing the Worlds (1686); from his reception into the French Academy (1691); from his being made Secretary to

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that of Sciences (1699); from his resigning that post (1740); from his death (1757), would produce the difference of a century; so that we may establish for a rule of criticism, that when these diversities do not exceed the natural term of human life, we ought to think of reconciling, and not of opposing them. In this instance, five of the most respectable authorities may be confined within the small period of sixty-eight years. The eldest Apollodorus, who places Homer 250 years after the Trojan war, A. C. 934, must be naturally understood to speak of his birth: Cornelius Nepos, the second, whose date is 160 years before the foundation of Rome, A. C. 914, of the time when Homer, then twenty, was arrived at the years of manhood: the era of the marbles (643 years before the archontat of Diognetus) A. C. 907, of the time when Homer, then twenty-seven, began to distinguish himself; perhaps when, according to the Colophonian tradition, he wrote the Margites, his first poetical work. When Herodotus places Homer 400 years before his own birth, A. C. 884, he may mean, that, being then fifty, he was arrived at the highest pitch of his reputation, and perhaps wrote the Iliad. Lastly, if Socibius, the Laconian, brings him down to the last year before the first Olympiad, Homer might then die aged sixty-eight years, A. C. 866. This calculation agrees very well with the vague reckoning of Pliny and Juvenal, and pretty nearly with the more precise one of Velleius Paterculus. There are, indeed, many writers, whom it is impossible to conciliate, since

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since they take in so enormous a period as 416 years, from the return of Heraclides, A. C. 1104, to the twenty-third Olympiad, A. C. 688. But besides that they are of inferior note, the great difference amongst them leaves the authority of each to stand singly by itself.

I likewise began to-day a Greek life of Homer, or rather a dissertation upon his writings, by an anonymous writer, inserted in the *Opuscula Mythologica, Physica, et Ethica, published at Amsterdam* 1688, *by Mr. Gale.* It takes up p. 283—404 of those Opuscula. As I intend to make an abstract of it, I shall only say here that I read *p.* 283—303.

Aug. 20th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, 304—314. The Greek is easy, though I met with many words of the only species (perhaps) not to be found in Homer,—grammatical and metaphysical terms, which are the more difficult at first, because, as they are all metaphorical, it is the literal meaning which presents itself to an unexperienced reader.

21st.]—In order to save some part of this day for study, I passed the evening in my lodging, and read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 314—341.

24th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 341—357.

27th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 387—394.

28th.]—I finished the *Siècle de Louis XIV.* I believe that Voltaire had for this work an advantage which he has seldom enjoyed. When he treats of a distant period, he is not a man to turn over musty monkish writers to instruct himself. He follows some compilation, varnishes it over

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with the magic of his style, and produces a most agreeable, superficial, inaccurate performance. But there the information, both written and oral, lay within his reach, and he seems to have taken great pains to consult it. Without any thing of the majesty of the great historians, he has comprised, in two small volumes, a variety of facts, told in an easy, clear, and lively style. To this merit, he has added that of throwing aside all trivial circumstances, and choosing no events, but such as are either useful or entertaining. His method of treating every article in a distinct chapter I think vicious: as they are all connected in human affairs, and as they are often the cause of each other, why separate them in history? The first volume is much less interesting than the second; arts and manners were a subject almost untouched; but so many writers had exhausted the battles and sieges of Lewis the XIVth's reign, that it was impossible to add any thing new, especially in so confined an abridgment. Besides, those detached particulars wanted less that art of narrating, which Voltaire never possessed, with all his other talents: I mean in prose, for there are some very fine narrations in his tragedies. That of *Ismene*, in the last act of Merope, is equal to the famous ones of *Racine*. As to his hero, I think that he performed great actions without being a great man. France, notwithstanding his wars and persecutions, ought never to forget him. But when Condé, Turenne, Vauban, Louvois, Colbert, &c. have claimed their share of fame, little more will remain

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remain to the monarch, than the having chosen and employed those great men: I can hardly add that of persisting in his choice. A prince, diffident or inconstant, may claim great merit for having persisted in a good choice. A monarch, proud, vain, or obstinate, is only to be praised if he renounces a bad one. And every one must know to what a degree Lewis carried those last-mentioned qualities.

Sept. 3d.]—I returned to the Life of Homer, and read p. 394 -404, the end.

4th.]—I reviewed, but in a cursory manner, the Life of Homer, without having so exalted an idea of it as Mr. Gale, who, like a true editor, calls it *Liber Aureus*. I think it a valuable piece, written with art, and containing many ingenious, and some useful observations upon Homer. I then began to look into the Greek Grammar of Port Royal, that learned society which contributed so much to establish in France a taste for just reasoning, simplicity of style, and philosophical method. I began, contrary to the general method, with the verbs, and read with attention the first chapter of the third book, which treats of the nature and proprieties of the verb. I think that method the most natural and philosophical which begins with the operations of the mind, or the action or passion of the body, and thence passes to foreign objects.

5th.]—I read the second chapter of the third book, which treats of the characteristic letter, and the termination of verbs; and to impress the several modifications of the active verb upon my memory,

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mory, I copied them out. I finished to-day every thing in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, relative to Erasmus, viz. *tom. iv. p.* 379—397; *tom. v. p.* 145—283; *tom. vi. p.* 1—238; *tom. xii. p.* 1—57. The first and last are very good reflections, and exact judgments, upon Erasmus's works, but are too short: the others are long extracts of his epistles, which, translated in a very bad style, and unconnected method, have neither the *agrémens* of original letters, nor the merit of a complete life. When I had finished them, (according to a maxim I have laid down elsewhere,) I began *Vie d'Erasme, par M. de Burigny*; and so preferred the *suite* of my ideas to that of my books.

Sept. 6th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 3. which treats of the augmentation, both syllabic and temporal.

7th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 4—14. I saw the various forms into which every verb changes itself, from the indicative to the participle, and from the present to the second perfect. Indeed, I think the chain has too many links, as well as groundless exceptions without number; but this last is the vice of all languages, none of which have been the work of reason.

8th.]—In the evening I found means to look over, in a cursory manner, the passive and middle moods of the barytone verbs in ω. They depend so much upon the active, that when one has a clear idea of it, the genealogy is very easy to follow. I now see clearly the advantage of paying little attention to the Grammar, till you have made some

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some progress in the language. Instead of having both precepts and examples to learn, I need attend only to the general rules of what I have already seen in a variety of particular instances. It is examining the map of a country through which I have before travelled.

Sept. 9th.]—I looked more closely into the passive and middle moods of the barytones in ω. If the *vox media* is not very useful and ingenious, it is highly ridiculous.

10th.]—I read the Greek Grammar, l. iii. c. 21—27, containing a very clear account of the circumflex verbs in ω, and of the rules by which they contract themselves.

11th.]—I read the Greek Grammar, l. iv. c. 1—5, which treats of the regular verbs in μι. I approve extremely of the intention of M. M. de Port Royal, who, to simplify things as much as possible, have reduced the thirteen conjugations of the Greek grammar to two, or rather to three. But the variety of these conjugations is so great, and the differences so real, that the ancient division was, perhaps, clearer, in having many rules with few exceptions, than the modern ones of few rules and many exceptions. For instance, in explaining the barytone conjugations in ω, there is hardly a tense without exceptions for the peculiar formation of the liquids. At least I would have a separate conjugation for them. Another defect I have observed is, the example they have fixed on for the barytone conjugation. 1. They pitch upon the verb τιω, and make use of it in their table; but when

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when they come to the detail of the moods and tenses, they then employ τυπτω. This alteration destroys the unity of their plan, and must breed some confusion; especially in a young head. 2. They boast in their preface of having chosen (with Sanctius) τιω as a very simple verb; but I own I think the choice ill judged. The great object should have been to have chosen a verb perfectly regular, every one of whose different modifications should have been the example of the general rule, which they laid down for that mood or tense. Τιω does not answer that character. In the first future passive (for instance), according to the general rule * of changing the ω of the first future active, into ησωμαι, τισω would make τισθησομαι. However, by a common exception of the verbs in ω pure,† it drops the σ and makes only τιθησομαι.

To-day I began the small but valuable treatise of Longinus, περι ΥΨΟΥΣ *in the variorum edition of Tollius, printed at Utrecht, 1694, in 4to.* The edition appears to be a very complete one. It contains the Greek text of the author, with a Latin version by Tollius, and a French one by Boileau, with the notes of Robortellus, Petra, Portus, Langbænius, le Fèvre, and Tollius himself; and the French ones of Boileau and Dacier. I read the dedication of Tollius to the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia, and father of the present monarch; the prefaces of Tol-

Dr. Langbaine.

* V. Nouvelle Méthode, l. iii. c. 16. Reg. 52. p. 182.

† V. Nouvelle Méthode, l. iii. c. 16. Except. 3. p. 183.

lius,

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lius, de Petra, Langbænius, and Boileau, with the list of *Testimonia*, and the greatest part of the first chapter of Longinus himself. Tollius, though a commentator, was a man of taste and genius; though the style of his dedication is somewhat timid, yet there are pretty thoughts in it. He quibbles a little about *Victoria Elata*, and *Fama Pinnigera*, when he speaks of the great Elector; but his compliment upon the battle of Ferbelin is just, and well expressed. When I reflect on the age in which Longinus lived, an age which produced scarcely any other writer worthy of the attention of posterity; when real learning was almost extinct, philosophy sunk down to the quibbles of grammarians and the tricks of mountebanks, and the empire desolated by every calamity, I am amazed that at such a period, in the heart of Syria, and at the court of an Eastern monarch, Longinus should produce a work worthy of the best and freest days of Athens. I read with the sincerest regret the titles of the other works which are now lost; but none more than his *Odenathus*. I should have seen, though probably with some partiality, the character and actions of that great man, and of the greater Zenobia, who both (contrary to the other tyrants) proposed less making themselves Roman emperors, than detaching the East from the empire, and erecting a new monarchy upon quite different foundations.

Sept. 12th.]—I finished the first chapter of Longinus, with Boileau's translation, and all the notes. The Greek is, from the figurative style, and bold meta-

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metaphors, extremely difficult: I am afraid that it is rather too difficult for me; but now I have entered upon it, *jacta est alea*; and I have nothing to do but to redouble my application to understand him correctly. Is it vexation at those difficulties, or reason, which makes me wish, that in the room of those poetical figures, he had given us a definition of the sublime? Though this had been done by Cæcilius, yet it was still necessary, and would have taken him but a few lines. I then read a dissertation of M. le Clerc, inserted in the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. v. p. 237—290, sur les Verbs moyens des Grecs.* As it is (which I did not know at first) in opposition to another of M. Kuster, I can decide nothing about the dispute till I have seen that, which I will do as soon as possible, for his idea is a very ingenious one. He thinks that those verbs, as distinct from the active and passive ones, are made use of by the pure Attic writers to signify, 1. An action which passes entirely within the agent, such as thinking, willing, &c. 2. An action which, though exterior, has the agent himself for the object; such as, I feed myself, I undress myself, &c. M. le Clerc, on the other hand, not only denies their use, but even disputes the existence of the *vox media;* which he treats as a corruption only of the active and passive. As to the pretended difference of sound and sense, he says, that the first are not greater than many occasioned by the dialects, or by poetical licences, for which the grammarians have never established new voices or moods: that by M. Kuster's

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ter's own confession, the deponents in Latin, and many verbs in Greek, have an active signification, with a passive termination, without belonging to any *vox media;* that this mystery is unknown to the best Greeks, and that many of them express those actions by an active verb; nay, sometimes in the same period employ an active and middle verb. This he illustrates by a variety of examples.

I began to-day my *Extract of the Life of Homer, in French,* and wrote the first folio page, with a long note.

Sept. 14.]—I read the *second chapter of Longinus,* with the versions and notes as usual. As yet I read my author more as a man of genius, than as a man of taste: I am pleased and astonished rather than instructed. I observed in this chapter a licence more than poetical, into which the fire of his imagination hurried him, that of leaving the reader to supply one part of a first comparison, whilst he hastens to a second. There was an *hiatus* at the end of the chapter, which Tollius supplied from a manuscript in the Vatican. It is amusing to peruse the conjectural supplements of the critics; how various, how ingenious, and how distant from the truth. They are probably often as much so, though we have it not in our power to confute them in the same manner.

15th.]—I went through the whole series of the irregular verbs in Greek. Some of them are defective by the want of some particular tenses or persons; and others are irregular, as forming their tenses not from their own natural theme, but from some

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some other which bears some affinity with it, and is commonly either derived or contracted from it. These irregularities are necessary to be known; but we should be cautious of erecting them too hastily into general rules, the first sort especially; where the supposed defect may arise only from the Greek authors now extant not having had occasion to employ that particular modification of the verb.

Sept. 27th.]—I have not, almost this fortnight, set down any thing in the literary way. Indeed, I was very idle. In that time, I went through only the *Life of Erasmus;* which ought only to have been an amusement, and not to have broken in upon Longinus. To-day I finished the Life of Erasmus. It is a work of great reading. As M. de Burigny proposed connecting with his history, a general account of the sciences and religion during his time, he has very deeply considered his subject. His style and reflexions are suited to a man of sense and modesty, who neither pretends to, nor possesses the least share of genius. Upon the whole, the book is a perfect contrast to most fashionable French ones, since it is useful without being brilliant. If we consider the character of Erasmus, we shall be immediately struck with his extensive erudition; and that heightened by two circumstances: 1. That he was scarcely ever fixed six months in a place (excepting at Basil); that to this wandering life, which deprived him both of books and leisure, must be added, a continued bad state of health, and the constant avocation of a vast correspondence. 2. That his learning was all real,

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real, and founded on the accurate perusal of the ancient authors. The numerous editions he published sufficiently evince it; and besides, those convenient compilations of all sorts, where a modern author can learn to be a profound scholar at a very small expense, did not then exist; every thing was to be sought for in the originals themselves. But besides this learning, which was common to many, Erasmus possessed a genius without which no writer will ever descend to posterity; a genius which could see through the vain subtleties of the schools, revive the laws of criticism, treat every subject with eloquence and delicacy; sometimes emulate the ancients, often imitate them, and never copy them. As to his morals, they had the poor merit of being regular. In the nobler part of his character I find him very deficient. Delicacy of sentiment he had none. A parasite of all the great men of his time, he was neither ashamed to magnify their characters, by the lowest adulation, nor to debase his own by the most impudent solicitations to obtain presents which very often he did not want. The adventure of Eppendorf is another proof how much dearer his money was to him than his character. Notwithstanding these faults, never man enjoyed a greater personal consideration. All the scholars, and all the princes of Europe, looked upon him as an oracle. Even Charles V. and Francis I. agreed in this. If we inquire why this happened to him rather than to some other great men, of a merit equal, and perhaps superior to Erasmus, we must say that it was

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owing to the time when he lived; when the world awaking from a sleep of a thousand years, all orders of men applied themselves to letters with an enthusiasm which produced in them the highest esteem and veneration for one of their principal restorers. Besides, as the general attention, from piety, from curiosity, from vanity, and from interest, was directed towards the religious disputes, a great divine was the fashionable character; and all parties endeavoured to attract or to preserve him. But to which of those parties did Erasmus adhere? His writings, and even his conduct, were often equivocal. The Catholics claim him, though they acknowledge that he was often indiscreet. Le Clerc challenges him for the Protestants, though he blames him for not professing what he knew to be the truth; and attributes his reserve solely to timidity and self-interest. Erasmus had certainly exposed all the grosser superstitions of the Romish worship to the ridicule of the public; and had his free opinion been taken, I believe that he was a Protestant upon most of the contested points. But many other motives might restrain him from a declaration. He was always persuaded, that any speculative truths were dearly purchased at the expense of practical virtue and public peace. Besides, many considerations might often make him balance as to those truths; prejudices of education, the authority of the fathers, and a natural inclination to scepticism. Add to all this, that really disapproving many things in the Protestant communion, though more in the Romish, by remaining

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ing in the loose situation of a man who was unwilling to quit the religion of his ancestors, he could blame many things in it with freedom; whereas, had he deserted it, he must either have set up a standard himself, or else have enlisted blindly under that of Luther or Æcolampodius. It is surprising that Erasmus, who could see through much more plausible fables, believed firmly in witchcraft.

Sept. 30th.]—I began the *Ciceronianus*, and read p. 1—80.

Oct. 1st.]—I read *Ciceronianus*, p. 80—230, which finished it; and perused 47 pages of Extracts from Erasmus's Letters, which related to it; and which turn principally upon the great scandal which the comparison between *Ascensius Badius* and the great *Budæus* had given in France. The object of this dialogue is to attack some blind admirers and copiers of Tully's style; who, at the revival of letters, formed, especially in Italy, a very considerable sect, of which the principal leaders were *Bembo*, *Sadolet*, and *Julius Scaliger*. In this attack he employed every arm both of argument and pleasantry. It may be divided into three parts; in the first, *Nosoponus* the Ciceronian is introduced; and with that exquisite species of humour, of which the *Lettres Provinciales* offer so fine a specimen, ridicules his own party by a bare exposition of those maxims which he himself venerated and practised. His exclusive devotion to Cicero, his three Indices, his never writing but in the dead silence of the night, his employing months upon a

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few lines, his religious caution about the words, and his total indifference about the sense, are truly and highly comic. In the second, Erasmus himself appears under the name of *Boulephorus;* and entering into a great detail, establishes, victoriously, that Cicero, though worthy of our attention and imitation, is not the only one worthy of it; that so servile an attachment to any author, destroys all freedom and originality of genius, and produces only a set of tame writers, who, perhaps, will copy only the faults, but who will surely never attain to the perfections of their great model; and that finally, we should rather endeavour to speak as Cicero would do if he lived at present, than as he did in his time; that since words are made for ideas, and not ideas for words, it is infinitely more reasonable to coin new words to express a variety of things unknown to Cicero, than, out of a vain ambition for purity, to call excommunication, *interdictio aquæ et ignis*, and to express all the objects of Christianity by the terms of the Pagan rituals. It must be confessed, that the Ciceronians laid themselves very open to ridicule, were it only by their looking on Tully not only as the best but as the sole model, and that of language as well as of eloquence. In a polite age, in which a language is thoroughly cultivated, every writer who is a man of education, of letters, and of taste, speaks nearly the same language; and very often, genius and eloquence, instead of being companions to purity, are enemies to it, by diverting the attention to nobler aims. Bouhours is much purer than either Corneille

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Corneille or Bayle. Why therefore should we exclude all other writers of the Augustan age, and confine our imitation to Tully alone; who was not a native of Rome, and who, from the fire of his imagination, the variety of his occupations, and the multiplicity of his writings, could not always attend nicely to his expression. Why is not Cæsar (for example) as safe a model? A Ciceronian must believe Cicero's own account of him. *Cæsar autem rationem adhibens, consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam purâ et incorruptâ consuetudine emendat. Itaque . . ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum . . . . . adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi.* But the same Ciceronian, if he would condescend to admit the other Latin writers of that age into a partnership with Tully, would be much more formidable than Nosoponus. He would observe, that in all languages, rules and analogies are very treacherous guides; that in modern tongues, we see them give way every day to custom. That in the dead ones, that custom is to be met with only in the most correct writers; and that whenever we deviate from them, we risk offending against the idiom of the language. That the boldest moderns did not carry their privilege of making new terms so far as they ought, to have made it really useful, since they express many modern ones by very loose periphrases. That as they are themselves still fond of copying and alluding to the ancients, the writings of Erasmus himself are an incoherent mixture of Roman manners and expressions with Batavian ones; a mixture not less

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ridiculous than their scrupulous antique idiom. Perhaps the natural conclusion from these various difficulties, where either freedom or correctness must be sacrificed, was, that instead of that ungrateful labour upon a dead language, it would be better to improve and cultivate the living ones. But this conclusion was too much for the age of Erasmus. The third part of the Dialogue, which contains Erasmus's opinion of the style of the principal Latin authors, both ancient and modern, shews great learning; but his judgments are too superficial, and not so much varied as the nature of the subject required. The style of the *Ciceronianus* itself is lively and easy; but the spirit of the Dialogue is but indifferently kept up. Nosoponus makes no defence, and Hypologus is quite a useless personage.

Oct. 2d.]—After a long absence, I returned at last to Longinus, and read the third and fourth chapters, περὶ ΤΨΟΥΣ. After Longinus had, in the two former chapters, opened his design, and shewn that though the true sublime is a gift of nature, yet nature may, as in other things, be assisted by art; he treats of two vices different from each other, but equally opposite to it; the one a turgid style and inflated figures, springing from an exuberance of genius or a vain ambition: the other a frigid poor labour after puns and little affected beauties. I approve very much of this inverted method of shewing first what a thing is not, and then what it is. In these refined inquiries nothing contributes more to assist our imagination and dispel prejudices.

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dices. I likewise admire that noble freedom with which he discovers the faults of those heroes themselves,* Plato and Xenophon.

Oct. 3d.]—I employed my morning very well, since I read the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Longinus. The two first are inconsiderable; the seventh, in which he points out the way to discover the true sublime, is the work of a man of strong feelings rather than of a clear head; the eighth begins to enter more deeply into the subject, and points out five sources of the sublime. The ninth chapter, which treats of the first of these, (the elevation of the ideas,) is one of the finest monuments of antiquity. Till now, I was acquainted only with two ways of criticising a beautiful passage: the one, to shew, by an exact anatomy of it, the distinct beauties of it, and whence they sprung; the other, an idle exclamation, or a general encomium, which leaves nothing behind it. Longinus has shewn me that there is a third. He tells me his own feelings upon reading it; and tells them with such energy, that he communicates them. I almost doubt which is most sublime, Homer's Battle of the Gods, or *Longinus's* Apostrophe to *Terentianus* upon it. The chapter concludes with some very ingenious observations upon the different character of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*. I am sorry to criticise such a chapter, but what would Longinus have said, had another made his observation upon that passage of Homer, where the celestial

* Οι ἵπποι ἐχεινοι. LONGIN. Περι Υψους, p. 32. Edit. Toll.

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horses leap at one bound the extent of the visible horizon? One would think, says he, the world could not have afforded space for such another leap. To what faculty does the visible horizon appear above half the world? To the eyes it appears the whole; to the understanding, and even to the imagination, a very small part.

Oct. 4th.]—I read the *tenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 72—88. Its subject is but obscurely marked, and appears at first to run into the former. The distinction however appears to be, the first treats of those great and simple ideas, which require only to be fully conceived and expressed; the second, of such ideas as though not sublime in themselves, may be rendered so by the artful introduction of accessory circumstances. But I hardly think that the Ode of Sappho was a proper example. It may be beautiful, it may be passionate; but surely there is nothing in it which elevates the mind: Longinus's own characteristic of the sublime. This morning Mr. M . . . . returned my visit, and stayed nearly two hours with me. I have not yet seen any great proofs of his taste or genius, but he is certainly a scholar, and a very communicative one. Observing I had only *Hederici Lexicon*, he offered me *Scapula* as much better, and sent it to me in the evening. It is in fact infinitely more copious; and I like much the disposition of it by roots. It gives you a much clearer idea of the language, by reducing it to a small number of primitives; which, by their various compositions, produce all the riches of that copious tongue.

Oct.

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Oct. 5th.]—I read the *eleventh and twelfth chapters of Longinus*, p. 88—94. They treat of *Amplification;* of that art in poetry and rhetoric by which things are made to appear greater than they really are. Perhaps, had he known the magnifying glasses, he would have said that the merit of that art was, like those glasses, to increase the magnitude, but preserve the proportions. He then draws a comparison between Cicero (who excelled peculiarly in it) and Demosthenes; a comparison framed with his usual eloquence, and with a candour for the Roman's merit very uncommon in a Greek.

11th.]—I read the *thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chapters of Longinus*, p. 94—118. The two first, which treat of imitation, are true pictures of the impetuous genius of the author. He enters on his subject by a quotation from Plato, which is very remotely connected with it. Then, though he recommends as a road to the sublime, the imitation of the great ancients; yet imitation is too lame a practice to be agreeable to him. He first extends it to an advice to us to consider how Homer or Demosthenes would have expressed such an idea, not how they would express any one: then to think how they would approve of the manner in which we ourselves are going to express it; that is, to make them not our models, but our judges; and at last, disclaiming all particular imitation, he advises us only to catch their fire, and to imitate the noble confidence with which they looked forward to the latest posterity. The fifteenth chapter contains some fine examples of poetical figures, distinguishes

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distinguishes them from rhetorical ones, and observes, that the mistaken taste of his age makes them be often confounded.

Oct. 12th.]—I read the *sixteenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 118—126. He speaks of the phrase and elocution. This is his third source of the sublime. The *pathos*, which was the second, he has almost totally forgotten. This chapter is taken up chiefly by the example of the famous oath of Demosthenes; by the heroes of Marathon and Plateæ. He examines it very nicely, discovers all the art and energy of it, and shews how much it differs from a similar expression of the comic Eupolis. If the ninth chapter shews Longinus the most as a man of genius, he no where appears a more excellent critic than in this.

14th.]—I began the *Colloquia* of *Erasmus*, and as far as I have gone, think them full of entertainment.

16th.]—I read several chapters of *M. de Tillemont's Histoire des Empereurs*, in relation to Longinus's Patrons Odenathus and Zenobia, tom. iii. p. 3; 947—952; 976, 977; 983—988; 1039—1062; and 1078—1082. It is much better to read this part of the Augustan history in so learned and exact a compilation than in the originals, who have neither method, accuracy, eloquence, nor chronology. I think them below the worst monkish chroniclers we have extant. We may observe that Odenathus, who was an Arab, began to shew the superiority of his brave barbarians over the corrupted Romans; a superiority which Mahomet improved

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proved by the additional spur of religion, but which he did not create.

Oct. 18th.—I read the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth chapters of Longinus, p. 126—154. He continues to treat of the various kinds of figures, which, when properly employed, give force and beauty to the discourse: the interrogation, the omission of copulatives, the mixture of figures, the transpositions of ideas, and the alterations of number and tense. This is perhaps the least shining part of his book; as it is the more mechanical part of criticism. However, Longinus enlivens the dulness of it, by the magic of his style; and corrects the dryness by the clearness of his reasons, and the accuracy of his distinctions. I shall give an instance of each. Speaking of that rhetorical figure by which a writer, addressing himself to his reader, employs the second person, he himself makes use of it in a most beautiful manner, in animadverting to Terentianus upon a passage of Herodotus.* The second is, where treating of the change of the singular into the plural he distinguishes, with great justness, between those words which, singular by their termination, by their sense may be considered as plural, without any effort of, or effect upon, the imagination; and those which, in themselves strictly singular, are magnified and multi-

* Longinus, c. xxvi. p. 152.

plied,

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plied, when, upon certain occasions, they are spoken of as plural.* I must just mention a mistake of *Tollius*. Herodotus makes use of the words Δικλοις δρεπτέλησι. Tollius owns that it signifies *servis fugitivis;* but thinks it not elegant enough, and therefore renders it by the vague expression of *servitutem acerbissimam.*† However, the other has certainly more elegance, as well as truth and propriety. The Ionians had revolted from the Persians; if they were again subdued, they would not only be, as before, oppressed like slaves, but punished as fugitives.

Oct. 19th.]—I read Longinus, chapters twenty-seven, twenty-eight, twenty-nine, and thirty, p. 154—168. He continues his enumeration of figurative expressions, and mentions their sudden transition from one person to another, of which the poets and orators have left us some fine examples. It may, however, be remarked, that as this figure is infinitely violent and abrupt, it is suitable only to the strongest passions, and therefore commonly suits better the poet's heroes than himself. Longinus then proceeds to the periphrasis, and gives some very sensible rules about it. However, he has forgotten to observe, that though, when well employed, this figure gives light and grace to a discourse; yet in itself it is an enemy to the sublime, of which a concise expression is always the best vehicle. If we inquire into the reason of it,

* Longinus, c. xxiii. p. 144.

† Ibid. c. xxii. p. 142, notasque Toll. in loco.

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we must say, that it presents the idea at once, gives as little as possible to the tediousness and deficiencies of language, and comes the nearest to the operations of thought. In the thirtieth chapter, he enters upon the choice of words, which he has laid down as the fourth source of the sublime. There appears to be here a considerable chasm.

Oct. 20th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-one, thirty-two, and thirty-three, p. 168—186. The thirty-first seems to be very defective; however we see that he proves that the common expressions, when introduced properly, have often more strength and meaning than more elaborate ones. I believe his position just, and his examples from Herodotus explain his meaning very well; but I think that from Demosthenes ill chosen. The idea is indeed very *idiotic*, but it is expressed by a very uncommon and metaphorical word. The thirty-second chapter treats of the multiplicity of metaphors, for which Longinus is a great advocate, and admires very much a laboured description of the human body by Plato. I wish I could admire it too. However, as Plato has certainly faults, our critic examines in the twenty-third chapter, which is preferable, a sublimity often faulty, or an unblameable mediocrity. He treats his subject with an eloquent and becoming enthusiasm. His decision is that of a man of taste. I likewise read a Letter of Pliny on the same subject, L. ix. Ep. 26; which is full of very pretty thoughts and expressions. I am of the same opinion with both these great writers; but think neither of them has gone

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gone deep enough. I take the reason to be, not that we are more strongly affected with beauties, but that we are longer so: the pleasure we feel in the sensation prolongs it, by making us dwell upon it with satisfaction; whereas the disgust we conceive from faults shortens the sensation, by causing us to call off our attention immediately. There are, besides, two other collateral reasons, but I take this to be the principal, and I must not write dissertations in my journal.

Oct. 21st.]—Last night, when in bed, I was thinking of a dissertation of M. de la Nauze, upon the Roman calendar; which I read last year.* This led me to consider what was the Greek, and finding myself very ignorant of it, I determined to read a short, but very excellent abstract of Mr. Dodwell's book *De Cyclis*, by the famous Dr. Halley.† It is only twenty-five pages; but as I meditated it thoroughly, and verified all the calculations, it was a very good morning's work. The cycle of Meton had for its object, to reconcile the course of the sun with that of the moon, which it accomplishes in a cycle of 19 solar years, 235 lunar months, and 6940 days. The years should be regularly twelve months, and the months thirty days; but as the first would not be enough, it is necessary to add seven *menses embolimi* in the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years of the cycle; and as the second would be too

* Vide Journal, August 25th and 26th, 1761.

† At the end of the second volume of the Life of Mr. Dodwell. *London*, 1715.

much,

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much, 110 months are *cavi*, or of 29 days only, which is determined by leaving out every sixty-fourth day. The first cycle begins with July 15th, Ant. Chr. 432.* To reduce them to the Julian account, you must observe the following rule. Collect the number of months elapsed since the beginning of the period; multiply them by 30; add the number of days elapsed in the current month; divide the whole number by 64; subtract the quotient from it; add as many times 6940 as there have been complete cycles, with the constant number 196, and you have the whole number of days elapsed since the 1st January, Ant. Chr. 434; which number you may easily reduce into Julian years, months, and days. This dissertation gives me a very clear, and, I believe, a very true notion of Meton's Attic year. As to that of Calippus, it was only a reformation of that of Meton, who had reckoned the solar year too long by about one seventy-sixth of a day; to obviate which, he added another *dies exemptilis;* but as it is at the end of his period of 76 years, we need pay no attention to it in our calculations: otherwise it is the same months regular and *embolimi*, and the same *dies exemptilis*. We must only observe two differences in our reductions of it. 1. That instead of 196 days to be added, there are 552 always to be subtracted, being the number of days between the 1st July, Ant. Chr. 330, when the cycle begins, and January 1st, 328, being the first after Bissextile.

* It was the first after the *Bissextile*.

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Indeed, to perform the reductions exactly, we ought to have all our dates in olympiads or archontats, compared with years of the cycles; but if we meet with any modern author who reckons by Julian years anticipated, we may venture (after subtracting his number from 432*) to look upon the last year of it as complete, if the date fall into the six first Attic months, or as commenced only into one of the last six. Should we be mistaken, which may happen, our calculation itself will discover our error. I say the same of the cycle of Calippus. 2. In the last mentioned cycle we need attend only to the current one, and pay no attention to those that are complete, as every cycle answers exactly to 76 Julian years. I cannot say I received the same satisfaction as to the Macedonian calendar. Far from being supported by the necessary proofs, Mr. Dodwell's opinion is not even clearly laid down. Dr. Halley owns himself, that there are great disputes about the order of their months, and the time when their year began. I know, besides, that there is another very prevalent system of Archbishop Usher, who makes the Macedonian year not luni-solar, but solar. I must, therefore, suspend my judgment tlll I have seen *Mr. Dodwell de Cyclis*, and *Usher de veteri Anno Macedonum et Asianorum solari.* As to the Roman year, M. de la Nauze is still my master.

* If he reckons by years before Christ, the reduction would be very easy.

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Oct. 23d.]—Continuing my study and meditation of the Greek calendar, I resolved to verify some remarkable date. I immediately recollected the battle of Arbela, which, according to Plutarch, was fought eleven days after a total eclipse of the moon, that happened on the 14th of the month Bædremion. This eclipse answers to the 20th of September, Ant. Chr. 331. The battle was fought, therefore, the 1st of October. Now, according to Mr. Dodwell's system, the 25th of Bædremion answers exactly to that day. This is a strong presumption in its favour. The calculation, though sure, is however so tedious, that I wish some way could be thought of to shorten it. I could construct a table, in which, marking the olympiads, the archontats, the years of the cycle, and the month and day of the Julian, the beginning of each answers to * * * *. The *dies exemptilis* would be the most troublesome, as being not fixed to any months or years, but running regularly through the cycle. However, by some trials I made, I found I could manage them.

24th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-four, thirty-five, thirty-six, thirty-seven, thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, and forty-one, p. 186—222. Our author continues his comparison of the sublime often faulty, and the mediocrity always irreprehensible, in the three first. His characters of Hyperides and Demosthenes are finely marked. He expatiates with pleasure on the various merits of Hyperides, and distinguishes them by epithets always just and always different, which display

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both his own penetration, and the accurate fertility of the language in which he wrote; but all these encomiums are only garlands, which make him a victim worthier the object of his divinity, Demosthenes; who, inferior in every other respect to Hyperides, surpasses him infinitely by those sublime and terrible beauties with which his writings abound. This chapter gives perhaps a clearer idea of the sublime than any other in Longinus; since it is not only distinguished from the faults which are contrary to, but likewise from the beauties which are different from it. But still this is not enough. I wish that I had time to explain the fine poetical comparisons of the thirty-fifth chapter, and to give a better reason than Longinus does, why the rule, that greatness is preferable to exactness, does not hold good in sculpture as well as in poetry. In the thirty-seventh I agree with Le Fèvre and Dacier, that the common reading of Herodotus is highly absurd; but if Longinus could praise that absurdity, why might not Herodotus write it? In the thirty-eight chapter he enters upon his fifth source of the sublime, the arrangement of words. We see something, though a small part, of the attention which the Greeks paid to the harmony of their periods. That not satisfied with the judgment of the ear, they had established for prose a measure of dactyles and spondees, less exact, but more varied than in verse; by which, without confining themselves to the precise form of feet, they could render the whole period abrupt or flowing, slow or precipitate. In the fortieth and forty-first

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first he blames the affectation of giving every period the same cadence; or of making the periods too short, and disjointed from each other

October 25th.]---I read *Cicero in Orator. C.* 63 —66, in relation to the harmony of prose. Although the Latin tongue was not perhaps so susceptible of it as the Greek, yet we may discover how attentive the Romans were to it. The end was to give to prose an harmony equivalent, but not similar to verse. The means employed were, 1. To consider syllables abstracted from feet, and to make long or short ones prevail in a period in the degree and manner they chose. Thus, in the famous passage of Demosthenes, we hear the sound of dactyles, or of something still more rapid; since out of twenty-nine syllables, twenty-one are short. 2. The ancient metre has this advantage over ours, that in modern tongues the harmony consists only in the composition of a verse, or at least of a *hemistich;* whereas, if you take an ancient verse to pieces, the feet of which it is composed give you, by their peculiar and distinct harmony, *disjecta membra poetæ.* The great variety of these feet furnished the orators with innumerable ways of harmonizing their periods, without ever deviating into verse. I likewise read *Longinus*, chapters forty-two and forty-three, which finished him. The forty-second contains some examples of fine descriptions, degraded by one or two low words. In the last chapter of this small, but valuable treatise, Longinus examines the reason why no sublime writers were to be found in his age.

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He treats this question (which, taken in the utmost latitude, is perhaps a Gordian knot) with more eloquence than accuracy. It is, however, worth remarking, that he still continues to enforce his precept by his example. He appears pretty plainly to have been of opinion, that the true sublime, especially in eloquence, could never belong to slaves; and that it could be found only in geniuses nursed under a popular government, whose writings breathed the same liberty as their actions. These ideas are noble, and perhaps true; but they were too harsh for the court of Palmyra. Longinus was forced to enervate them, not only by the term Δικαιοτατη, which he takes care to apply twice to the present despotism; but by employing the stale pretence of putting his own thoughts into the mouth of a nameless philosopher. I read on the same question Seneca, *Epist. cxiv. p.* 646—651; *Edit. Lips. apud Plantin.* He considers it in another, and, I think, a better light than Longinus. Both attribute the decay of taste to luxury and its attendant vices; but the Greek, considering them almost as passive, thinks that they only extinguish all emulation and application; while the Roman looks upon them as very active, by accustoming our taste to relish only the tricks of novelty and affectation, and to despise genuine and simple eloquence. The character of Mæcenas is a fine *caricature.* How different is he from the Mæcenas of Virgil and Horace! As to Longinus in general, after what I have observed upon almost every chapter, I have little left to say. It is certainly a fine

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a fine performance; the style is faulty only by being rather too poetical for a didactic work. In general, I should adopt most of his decisions; only I think that for want of having a clear idea of the sublime, he has sometimes blamed passages for being deficient in that respect, or praised them for excelling in it, whose nature and design neither had, nor required, that kind of beauty. I could likewise have wished that Longinus had not always confined himself to single passages, but had pointed out that sublime which results from the choice and general disposition of a subject. I think that Longinus shews real taste and genius, by his indulgence in the sallies of a warm imagination, and by his severity to the prettinesses of the art; though, like most men of genius who possess more force and elevation than delicacy, he may sometimes have confounded refinement and affectation. As to his commentators, Langbænius is ostentatiously pedantic, and learnedly absurd; Le Fèvre is, as usual, vain, bold, and ingenious; the notes of Tollius are full of taste, good criticism, and real erudition. There are a number of corrupted passages in Longinus, which, by the help of manuscripts, or from his own conjectures, he has restored extremely well.

October 26th.]—I intended to have composed a long abstract of that Greek Life of Homer, which I finished September the fourth, and actually wrote a page of it; but other things intervening, I went no further. As it is now too late, I shall take this occasion of giving a short account of it. Its title

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is improper enough; after an history of Homer, comprised in a few lines, and full of blunders, the author proceeds to his main design, which was to shew that there was no art or science of which Homer was not the father and laid the foundations; a design which proves the excessive veneration of the Greeks still better than the temples they erected to him. To support so vain an argument, much sophistry and false reasoning was necessary. The following are some specimens of them which struck me. 1. It is almost impossible to follow him through his innumerable divisions and subdivisions, which, instead of easing our attention, and fixing our memory, perplex the one, and overburthen the other. This is a sufficient inconvenience in this method, but another infinitely greater results from it. Those divisions, by treating every minute part of a subject separately, often pass over the most essential notions of it, because they are common to the whole. Nay, as they are commonly the work of a trifling genius, they are sometimes founded only upon some very trivial and accessory ideas, without ever reaching the fundamental principles. Thus, when our critic wants to prove Homer an historian, he accurately divides the requisites of history into the mention of person, cause, place, time, instrument, passion, action, and manner; proves that in some part of his works the poet mentions each of these, and then very accurately concludes that he was an historian. What a minute division of history, which forgets all the most important parts of it, accuracy, impartiality, and

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and an hundred more!* 2. To prove Homer's knowledge universal, he is forced, in several sciences, to instance things hardly above the rank of self-evident ideas, with which no peasant in a civilized country is unacquainted. Thus he is the father of arithmetic, because by saying that fifty men guarded each of the thousand Trojan fires, he does not compute himself, but furnishes the occasion of computing the Trojan army at fifty thousand men.† 3. One would think it sufficient for Homer's honour, to have been the father of all known truth; and that it was rather lowering, than raising his character, to make him acquainted with all the opinions of latter ages, however extravagant or contradictory to one another. The system of Thales, who makes water the universal principle; that of Xenophanes, who to water adds earth; and the general opinion which acknowledges four elements, are all borrowed from Homer;‡ though to have aserted all these opposite principles, implies more learning than judgment. Indeed, when he speaks of the Stoics and Peripatetics, he saves the contradiction very ingeniously. Homer was acquainted with both systems; but he looked upon the first as more exalted and conformable to reason; on the latter, as more practicable, and conformable to experience.§ 4. When the plain text of Homer appears absurd, or at least furnishes no proofs of science, he has recourse to the alle-

* Vit. Homer. p. 315—318. † Vit. Homer. p. 360.
‡ ——— p. 324. § ——— p. 352—354.

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gorical sense, where he discovers a thousand mysteries.* I cannot here explain my sentiments on that head, nor illustrate and enforce a distinction which has not been enough attended to, viz. of what was allegory to Homer, and what was indeed allegory in its origin, but, through various mixtures and length of time, appeared then in a quite different shape. I have the less occasion to do it here, as my author is much soberer on this head, than many others of the ancients; some of whom (Heraclides for instance) have written whole books upon Homer's allegories. 5. My author, like many of the ancients, is very fond of drawing philosophical conclusions from a resemblance of words and fanciful etymologies; a method, which, with reason, would give one a poor opinion of their logic. Thus our author, from the resemblance of Δεμας and Δεσμος, would infer that Homer looked upon the soul as shackled and imprisoned by the body,† without ever considering that such grammatical conjectures want proof themselves, instead of being able to furnish it to other positions. Indeed it is more excusable to employ such arguments for the existence, than for the truth of an opinion. 6. These two last faults are common to him with many; his reasonings about numbers are more peculiar to him. He runs, and carries Homer with him, into all the Pythagorean whimsies,‡ the perfections of the *monade* and odd numbers, and

* Vit. Homer. p. 325—330. † Vit. Homer. p. 342.
‡ ——— p. 358—360.

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the imperfections of the *duade* and even ones. He quotes several passages of Homer where the *monade* is praised, such as the Εις κοιρανος εσω, without once inquiring whether it is praised for an absolute or for a relative merit. Notwithstanding these criticisms, I am far from despising this life of Homer. The author was a man of much subtility and ingenuity; so that you are often pleased with the imagination, though you despise the reasoning. Nay, the reasoning is often more the vice of his subject than his own. When he treats of those arts of which Homer was really a master, language, rhetoric, and morality, he is very solid and instructive. You find many nice observations concerning Homer's style, his use of the various Greek dialects, his deviations from the common rules of grammar, and the different figures he employs. One that struck me relates to the genders. He often, for the sake either of metre, or energy, employs a masculine epithet to a feminine substantive; but it is only speaking of those qualities of the mind which are of no sex, or if of any, which appertain rather to the male, such as κλυτος Ιπποδαμεια.* In treating of Homer's rhetoric, he explains very well the artifice of the speeches of the second Iliad; the various eloquence of the ambassadors to Achilles, and the gradations by which he gave way to them.†. So much for the original. The editor was mighty negligent in not distinguishing properly Homer's verses from the prose, which is full

* Vit. Homer. p. 303. † Vit. Homer. p. 371—377.

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of them, and not referring us to the places where they are to be found. The translator, whom I can scarcely believe to be Dr. Gale, has committed numberless blunders. I shall mention a curious one. He translates this verse of Homer,

Ἀρνειόν, ταῦρόν τε, συῶν τ' ἐπιβήορα κάπρον, Odyss. Λ. 130.

by *Arietem porcorum custodem.** Besides the nonsense of the expression, and the absurdity of making one animal only, where grammar and the sense of his author required three; need I quote Constantine and Pollux to shew that Επιβήορα signifies *ascensorem*, and is metaphorically applied to the copulation of animals?† Why not translate it at once,

Agnum, et taurum, suisque ascensorem aprum?

Oct. 29th.]—I read Tollius's *Gustus Animadversionum Criticarum*, at the end of Longinus, p. 348—360. I cannot say that they any ways answered my expectation. Tollius was not equal to such critical parallels as they are designed for, between some of the ancient writers. The first is between a passage of Pindar and another of Horace. It results from his laborious inquiry, that the Greek tongue is more harmonious than the Latin. The second, between Theocritus and Virgil, teaches me, 1. That among the ancients, presenting or throwing apples was customary between lovers. 2. That Virgil is far inferior to the Greek poet,

* Vit. Homer. p. 359.

† Constant. in Voc. Jul. Poll. Onomastic. l. v. c. 15. p. 92.

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since his Polyphemus boasts of having only milk all the year, whereas the Cyclop of Theocritus boasts that he has both milk and cheese. The third is between Apollonius and Ovid. As the Greeks are always to have the advantage, and Ovid is very open to criticism, Tollius talks rather more to the purpose.

Oct. 30th.]—I read Tollius, p. 360—371. A comparison between Virgil and a little poem of Petronius. Very bad indeed. However, I must now go through these comparisons.

31st.]—I went to church, heard a pretty good sermon from Mr. L*****, and read the second lesson, the fourth chapter of St. Luke, in Greek.

November 1st.]—I read Tollius, p. 371—381, the end. He compares Homer and Virgil as to the manner of Turnus' and Hector's deaths. He reasons better than usual, but did not consider that Hector's not asking for mercy like Turnus, is no proof of his superior courage. Turnus was slightly wounded; Hector mortally. I began to-day, as a natural supplement to Longinus, a philosophical inquiry into the nature of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful, and read the Introduction upon Taste, p. 1—40, which, like all other researches into our primary ideas, is rather loose and unsatisfactory. The division, however, of the passive impression which is common to all men, and relates chiefly to positive beauty or faultiness, and the active judgment which is founded on knowledge, and exercised mostly on comparison, pleased me;

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me; perhaps because very like an idea of my own.

Oct. 2d.]—I read the Inquiry, p. 40—95, which comprises the first part. The author's object is to class our various passions and sensations, and to investigate our affections, in order to discover how we are and ought to be affected. All those of the mind he refers to two classes;—self-preservation and society. The former renders us sensible of pain and terror; the latter in their various branches, (of sympathy, imitation, and terror,) of pleasure, love, and joy. Their nature is eternally distinct; and they never can run into one another. This naturally leads Mr. Burke to deny that the privation of pleasure ever produces positive pain; and *vice versâ*, the sensation produced by the absence of pain he calls delight, a solemn, awful feeling, very different from positive pleasure.

Nov. 4th.]—I finished the Inquiry, which contains in all 342 pages. The author writes with ingenuity, perspicuity, and candour. His reigning principles are, that pain, when absent, and moderated to terror, is productive of that solemn delight which forms the beauty of the sublime; this idea he pursues through its various shapes of immensity either of time or place, power, darkness, &c. It is surprising how much Longinus and Mr. Burke differ as to their idea of the operations of the sublime in our minds. The one considers it as exalting us with a conscious pride and courage, and the other as astonishing every faculty, and depressing the soul itself with terror and amazement.

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ment. If it should be found that the sublime produces this double, and seemingly contrary effect; we must look out for some more general principles which may account for it, though we may adopt still many particular materials and observations of both writers in the investigation of it. Such is Mr. Burke's system of the sublime: his notion of the beautiful is, that it is produced by whatever gives us pleasure. Perhaps his idea, confined as it is to the pleasures of sense, (heightened indeed by the imagination,) is yet too general. What connexion can he discover between the pleasures of the taste and the idea of beautiful? However, he thinks, (and I believe with reason,) that any thing, to appear beautiful either to the sight or touch, must convey to the sense an idea of softness and gradual variation, and to the imagination those of gentleness, delicacy, and even fragility. The ideas of beauty being in the least founded on those of order, proportion, or utility, he entirely explodes. I cannot help observing here, that in speaking of any thing beautiful, we consider the figure as so essential to it as not to be altered without changing the nature of it; and the colour as an accessory quality which may be varied at pleasure;—a proof that sometimes common feelings are conformable to philosophical speculations, where we should the least suspect it. Mr. Burke employs his last part in considering words as the signs of ideas. He remarks that they do not commonly, when pronounced, call up in the mind a picture of the idea for which they stand; and that consequently

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quently in poetry or eloquence we are as often affected by the words themselves, as by clear images of what they are designed to represent. I began to-day Ubbo Emmius' Geographical Description of Greece, (which will be very useful for all my Greek authors, but particularly for the Odyssey,) and read p. 1—18.

Nov. 5th.]—I read Emmius, p. 18—40.

6th.]—I read Emmius, p. 40—45.

7th.]—I read Emmius, p. 45—54.

8th.]—I read Emmius, p. 54—194, the end. It is a short, and consequently a dry abridgment; but it is concise, clear, and exact. It contributed a good deal to confirm me in the contemptible idea I always entertained of Cellarius. 1. In comparing this abridgment with the single map of Grecia Propria, I found above 130 places omitted in Cellarius, and among them some of such note as Tiryns, Helos, Ithome, Pisa, the province of Acarnania, and the valley of Tempe. What would it have been had I entered into the minute detail of any one region?

17th.]—I read *Les Observations de l'Abbé de Mably sur les Grecs.* They are not ill written; but I think a capital fault of them is, attributing more consequences to the particular characters of men, often ill drawn, than to the general manners, character, and situation of nations.

30th.]—I began the Odyssey of Homer, and read l. i. p. 444, the end.

Dec. 1st.]—I read the Odyssey, l. ii. v. 1—128.

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Dec. 2d.]—I read the Odyssey, l. ii. v. 128—434, the end.

3d.]—I read Potter's Greek Antiquities, v. ii. p. 120—160, where he treats of the naval affairs of the Greeks, in order to understand the voyages of Telemachus. As, while I was reading, I saw from my window some of the finest ships in the world, I could not very much admire the small barks, with a mast occasionally set up and taken down, which they run ashore every night.

5th.]—I read the Odyssey, L. iii. v. 1—497, the end, and finished some new Journals, the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et Belles Lettres, from April to September*, 1762, and the *Journal des Savans combiné avec les Mémoires de Trévoux, from June to September*. There is a curious Dissertation of Mr. Beyer upon the Atlantic Island of Plato. He pretends it is Judea. Some circumstances and etymologies are as usual favourable to him, others totally opposite. However, calling in allegory and romance to support allegory and romance, he seems to think he has entirely confounded the Infidels. The other is the Voyage of M. Anquetil du Perron to the East Indies, with the sole view of studying the language and religion of the ancient Persees. He is just returned to France, with a prodigious number of manuscripts, which may perhaps throw some light upon one of the most obscure but most curious branches of ancient history.

6th.]—I read Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 209—237,

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—237, in relation to the sacrifice offered by Nestor, and so exactly described by Homer.

Dec. 12th.]—I had borrowed of M. B. . . a French Moral and Political Romance of the Abbé Terasson, called *Sethos*. The beginning is fine, the description of the manners of the court of Memphis is worthy of Tacitus; and the system of the Egyptian initiation is a very happy thought; but, unluckily, the interest of the piece gradually diminishes in every book, till you arrive at the catastrophe, which is very cold and unnatural. As to the style, it is pure and elegant, scarcely ever elevated, and never animated. The Abbé Terasson had too mathematical a head to excel in the language of description, and too stoic a heart to shine in that of the passions. His feelings, however, are just, though not warm: the whole work breathes a spirit of virtue and humanity which renders it very amiable.

EXTRAITS

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EXTRAITS DE MON JOURNAL.

I MUST renounce the design of a regular and minute journal, of which I flattered myself with the plan, but of which I should find the constraint too great on my natural laziness to continue the execution. I had interrupted my labours for a few days; this little negligence might be so easily repaired! but these days have imperceptibly become weeks. The more I had to do, I was the more reluctant to begin the work. The time still left to me was spent in useless regret; and now that I ought to write my history for six months, reason tells me that I must no longer think of the undertaking.

But the same reason enjoins me not entirely to neglect the most curious occurrences, perhaps, of my whole life. I shall collect, therefore, not in the order of time, but according to the distribution of subjects, the new ideas which I acquired during my residence in Paris. These subjects may be arranged under the following heads: 1. My own personal concerns; expenses, connexions, friends. 2. The state of literature in France, the men of letters, academies, theatres. 3. Detached observations; military, political, and moral. 4. The public buildings and works of art.—I will allow, however, some pages of my journal, which were written at the time, to remain in their original state;—a vain undertaking, forsaken almost as soon as begun.

Lausanne, August 17th, 1763.]—I wrote a small part of my discourse on the ancient nations of

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Italy; small indeed, for a whole morning spent in the country. But of late I scarcely do any thing. My trifling avocations in town, the continual bustle at Mesery, and the frequent removals from the one to the other, produce greater distraction at Lausanne, than I ever experienced in London or Paris. I must seriously resume my labours.

Aug. 18th.]—I read the third *Satire of Juvenal*, consisting of three hundred and twenty-two verses. How judiciously does it set out! The honest Umbricius stops in the wood of Egeria, a sacred monument of the primitive Romans, but then inhabited by wretched Jews, to complain to Numa of the luxury of foreign manners, which had overflowed a nation whom he had instructed in laws and religion. The awkward meanness of the Romans, opposed to the address and suppleness of the Greeks, who made themselves slaves to be come masters, forms a striking contrast. After such a beautiful picture, Juvenal, I think, would have done better not to have dwelt so long on the little inconveniences and disorders common to all great cities, and which are unworthy of exciting the serious indignation which he expresses against them.

20th.]—I read, for the first time, the fourth *Satire of Juvenal*.

24th.]—I read the fourth *Satire of Juvenal*, consisting of one hundred and fifty-four verses, for the second time. The council of Domitian is, perhaps, the most striking passage of satire to be met with in any ancient author. This subject perfectly suited our poet's genius; that seriousness of

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of indignation, and that energy of expression, of which he is sometimes too lavish, are here in their proper place; and they forcibly impress on the reader's mind that detestation for the tyrant, and contempt for the Romans, which both so richly merited. Unfortunately this piece is left unfinished. After having described the principal counsellors with the pen of Sallust, the very moment they ought to begin their deliberation, the principal personage disappears, the poet's fire extinguishes, and the end of the piece is mangled. I also read, twice, the fifth satire, consisting of one hundred and seventy-three verses. How gross were the manners of the Romans amidst all their luxury! The most insolent financier would not now venture to make such humiliating distinctions among his guests. At Rome, the elegant Pliny considers his being disgusted with them almost as a merit in himself.* How different were the characters of Horace and Juvenal, although both sons of freedmen! The latter disdained to bend to the pride of the great; and the former, while he cured them of that pride, lived with them not as a parasite, but as a friend.

Aug. 25th.]—I read, for the first time, the sixth Satire of Juvenal, consisting of six hundred and sixty verses; and finished the thirteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains extracts from many excellent works; such as *Cudworth's Intellectual System, translated by Mosheim;*†

* Vide Plin. Epist. L. ii. Ep. 6.

† The translation appears to be superior to the original.

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Sale's Alcoran, &c. Critical Histories of Manicheism, and of the French Monarchy, by Mr. Beausobre and the Abbé Dubos. These extracts are rather superficial; but the *History of the Roman Laws, by Heineccius,* is highly interesting; for those who consider jurisprudence only in its relations to general literature.

Aug. 26th.]—I read over again the first hundred and sixty verses of the sixth Satire of Juvenal. After breakfast I went to the library, to consult *Mr. Bochat's Treatise on the Worship of the Egyptian Divinities at Rome,* so often mentioned by Juvenal. It is to be found in the Neufchatel Mercury for the year 1742. This treatise is merely a hypothesis, and that very chimerical; namely, that the worship of these divinities was brought from Egypt to Greece, and from Greece to Italy, by colonies established in that country long before the age of Romulus. I consulted the first volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres,* p. 140, concerning the signification of the word "Attonitæ" in the fourth Satire of Juvenal, v. 77. Mr. Valois applies it to the astonishment which prevailed in the capital, in consequence of the revolt of L. Antonius in Lower Germany. This conjecture is possible, which is all that can be said of it. But I am surprised that he has not drawn from it the only conclusion that could render it interesting. Antonius's revolt happened in the year of Rome 840.* The excessive tyranny

* V. M. de Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 39.—edit. fol.

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of Domitian had then reached its meridian; yet the baseness of the Romans endured this monster still nine years longer. I read the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Syntagma Dissertationum*, &c. Leipsic, 1733: a good collection, by Mosheim, which, however, savours too much of the Theologian, and even of the Lutheran. *Plinii Epistolæ, a Cortio, cum notis variorum; Amstel.* 1734: a very good edition. *Itineraria Vetera a Wesselingio; Amstel.* 1735: a most excellent edition of one of the most useful works we have, on the *Geography of the Roman Empire.*

Aug. 27th.]—I read, for the second time, the sixth Satire of Juvenal,—the source of all the invectives that have for sixteen centuries been accumulated against the sex. Nothing can be added to its force, richness, and variety; but some things perhaps might be retrenched from those too faithful descriptions, which, while they condemn vice, are apt to inspire vicious passions. Yet those wretches —are they entitled to escape infamy through the excess of their guilt? Ought their profligacy to be concealed from posterity, because they carried it to an immeasurable height? Juvenal has even been reproached with gratifying, in such descriptions, the pruriency of his own fancy. Yet the horror which he uniformly testifies at the disorders which he describes, will always persuade me, that his warmth proceeds, not from the flames of voluptuousness, but from the fire of indignation and genius. Instead of a licentiousness of morals, which in-

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clined him to pardon vice, I would rather reproach him with a malignity of heart, which made him think the corruption general. He perpetually confounds invective with satire. All women are guilty, and guilty of the most enormous crimes. You may find a Clytemnestra in every street.* I know that there never, perhaps, was an age more profligate than that of Juvenal; in which morals were enervated by luxury; the heart hardened by the institutions of domestic slavery and the amphitheatre; sentiments debased by the tyranny of government; and every characteristic and manly principle subverted, by the mixture and confusion of nations in one great city. Yet, there still remained many vestiges of the ancient virtues; and women, as well as men, worthy of living in a better age. If we consult Pliny's Epistles, a contemporary monument, we shall find in the circle of that amiable Roman, humanity, morals, the love of talents and of merit. Juvenal never allows himself to bestow the smallest praise on virtuous characters,† even with the view of rendering the vicious more ugly by the contrast. All the other satirists, Horace, Boileau, Pope, have taken care to recommend themselves to their readers as the friends of virtue and of man; and as such, have perhaps, of all poets, most gained our love. But Juvenal seems to have a rooted hatred to his species; and, having declared against them open war, is totally regard-

* Juvenal, Satir. vi. v. 655.

† I mean those of his own times.

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less of their friendship. This misanthropy, indeed, must render his works peculiarly acceptable to human malignity.

Aug. 28th.]—I read twice the seventh Satire of Juvenal; in which the poet describes, with his ordinary spirit, the poverty and contempt attending the men of letters of his times. The subject is always a disagreeable one; since it is more easy to render a character amiable, which happens to be the object of public hatred, than to render those respectable, who are the objects of a general, though unjust, contempt: besides, those continual complaints respecting the bad state of their fortune, come with peculiar disadvantage from men of letters. We acknowledge their murmurs to be just, but they always strike us with an idea of avidity and meanness, extremely inconsistent with the elevation which we expect from their characters. If wit consists in finding between ideas, relations that are natural without being obvious, the contrast of the poet and the lion surely deserves that name; it is one of the wittiest possible. I finished the fifteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains a second extract from Heineccius, explaining the history of the German law; a subject less interesting, indeed, than that of the Roman law, but equally well treated. *Réflexions Critiques;* Critical Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Fourmont the elder. Because a man understands the Chinese, is he, therefore, entitled to tell us absurdities, with the authority of an oracle? Saturn the same with Abraham! The great divi-

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nity of the Pagans the same with a wandering patriarch: and adored after his death almost by the whole world, except his own posterity; and that posterity an object of abhorrence and contempt to all his adorers! The life of Julian, written by my friend the Abbé de la Bleterie. The journalists are insensible to the merit, both of the hero and the historian; and even indulge themselves in making very unbecoming reflexions with respect to both. In general, the bitterness of zeal and controversy prevails too much in this *Bibliothèque*. When a father Colonia invites the faithful to the jubilee of Lyons, he is best answered with silent contempt; yet ridicule may be used against him without blame. But in giving the analysis of a work of literature or history, to bring forward opinions and reasonings suitable merely to the country of the reader, with a view to refute them tediously and ill-naturedly, is surely to mistake the business of a critical journal.—I wrote two pages of my collection on the ancient geography of Italy.

Aug. 29th.]—I read, for the first time, the eighth Satire of Juvenal, containing 275 verses.

30th.]—I did nothing but write a page and a half for my collection.

31st.]—I read over again the eighth Satire of Juvenal. I also twice read the ninth, containing 150 verses, and, for the first time, the first hundred verses of the tenth. How humiliating it is for mankind, that they must be taught, almost in all countries, that they are more respectable for their own virtues, than for those of their ancestors!

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The origin and establishment of this prejudice is scarcely conceivable. Nature draws an indelible distinction between those to whom she has given talents, and those from whom she has withheld them. The subordination of citizens to their magistrates is founded on fear and reason; but what was the principle that originally established the distinction of noble and plebeian? I think it was religion. This question would require to be examined at great length, and the examination of it would be curious. I shall be contented with making a single observation on this satire. 1. Juvenal speaks, from one end of it to the other, the language of an ancient Roman. We perceive throughout, not only the dignity of a true censor, who arraigns vice, exposes folly, and appals guilt, but the soul of a republican, reluctantly bending under the new constitution, the sworn enemy of tyranny, and the friend of a mild and equitable monarchy rather through necessity than inclination. This love of liberty, and loftiness of mind, distinguishes Juvenal from all the poets who lived after the establishment of the monarchy. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, all sing the ruin of their country, and the triumph of its oppressors. The vices of a Nero and a Domitian are commemorated in as lofty notes of praise, as the virtues of Augustus and Vespasian. Juvenal alone never prostitutes his muse. In his works, there is but one example of praise bestowed on the emperor; a praise perhaps just, expressed with the greatest simplicity, and included in a single verse. But he never

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never loses an opportunity of arraigning the folly and tyranny of those masters of the world and their deputies. He does more; he teaches how the evils inflicted by them may be cured.

> Tollas licet, omne quod usquam est
> Auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
> Et jaculum et galeam; spoliatis arma supersunt—

is an advice addressed fully as much to the Romans as to the Africans. Juvenal's liberty of speech fixes the time in which he lived far better than the uncertain and contradictory reports of an old scholiast. He lived under a good prince, a Nerva or a Trajan, at a happy period when his sentiments might be expressed without disguise. Tyrants had the nicest sensibility; they easily knew their own pictures in those of their predecessors. Domitian reasonably concluded, that an enemy to Nero could not be his friend; an informer would have silenced Juvenal after his first satire. But I suspect that he never run that risk. Men, distinguished by vigour of mind and elevation of genius, found no other means of escaping the fatal suspicion of tyrants, than by concealing themselves in silence and obscurity, confining their application to innocent and frivolous pursuits.—The ninth Satire of Juvenal is disgusting by its subject. The vice which the poet condemns is exhibited without disguise. The ridicule of the satire appears to me to arise from the character of Nævolus, a miserable catamite, whose principles are so much debased by his way of life, that he has lost all sense of its infamy, and relates his services with the same air of indifference

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indifference that a soldier would describe his campaigns. This gravity, which the reader perceives to be so much out of place, and which Nævolus does not, produces, in my opinion, the whole humour of the piece.

Sept. 1st.]—I read a second time the tenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—365, the end; and the eleventh, consisting of 208 verses, for the first time. In the tenth, Juvenal treats a subject worthy of himself; the vanity of human wishes, a misfortune consistent with the greatest virtues, and intimately connected with the most natural sentiments of the heart. The poet every where employs a refined and accurate philosophy, founded on the strictest principles of moral science. His genius rises with his subject: he shews the nothingness of false grandeur, and weighs, with the sublime indifference of a superior being, the virtues, talents, and destiny, of the greatest men. He here neglects, and seems even to disdain, the beauty of versification, and that sweet and charming harmony of which he was so great a master. His style, precise, energetic, lofty, and enriched with images, flows in a rougher stream than in his other pieces. Taking experience for his guide, his reasonings are mixed with examples, of which the greater part are chosen with exquisite judgment. That of Sejanus is a masterpiece: never was any elevation more extraordinary than his, nor any fall more dreadful. The levity of the people, who were in haste to break his statues, which they had just worshipped, is a finished picture of popular inconstancy. The example of the

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the death of Alexander seems to me to be chosen with less discernment than the rest. *His* misfortune consisted in being cut off in the midst of his success and glory. Yet had Marius died as he descended from his triumphal car, he would have been deemed the happiest of mortals. The reasoning in this satire would have been clearer, had Juvenal distinguished between those wishes, the accomplishment of which could not fail to make us miserable, and those whose accomplishment might fail to make us happy. Absolute power is of the first kind; long life of the second. The latter we may safely commit to the providence of the gods; but our own reason may teach us to pray, that they would refuse to us the former. With regard to the gods, I remark that inconstancy of opinion in Juvenal, which is so frequent among the ancients. At one moment nothing can be more pious than his faith, or more philosophical than his submission. The next, our own wisdom suffices, and prudence usurps the thrones of all the divinities. In the following verse his devotion again gets the ascendency: he limits his general assertion to fortune only, and replaces all the other gods in Olympus.

Sept. 2d.]—I finished the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains Foster's Sermons. Wonderful! a divine preferring reason to faith, and more afraid of vice than of heresy. *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ à Gesnero.* These authors may be useful for instructing us in the language and rural economy of the Romans; but where

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where is the student that reads, or the farmer who puts in practice, their lessons? *Notitia Hungariæ, vol. i. per Math. Ball:* an immense work, but too minutely circumstantial for any but Hungarians. The Panegyric of Mr. Le Clerc; a dry but accurate work of the Reviewer. The Council of Trent, by Father Paul, translated by Father Courayer; first extract. We might wish the translator more vigour of understanding; but in his preface he displays all the candour, impartiality, and toleration, that can possibly be desired.

Sept. 3d.]—I read a second time the eleventh Satire of Juvenal: I read the first hundred verses a third time: and also the twelfth Satire, consisting of 130 verses. In the eleventh, Juvenal takes an opportunity, in inviting his friend to supper, to contrast, with much sprightliness, the extravagant luxury of his contemporaries with the simple and coarse fare of ancient dictators. He makes us clearly perceive, without formally expressing it, how universal, and almost necessary, the elegance of the table was become in his time, since a poor philosopher like himself prepared for his friend a supper, very inferior indeed to the feasts of Ventidius, but far superior to those of Curius. This entertainment was to be graced by simplicity, neatness, and decent amusements only. Juvenal possessed justness of understanding, and honesty of heart; but his character was deficient in point of sweetness and sensibility. He has neglected an opportunity of expressing those sentiments, which one friend, when he feels them, is always ready to pour

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pour into the bosom of another. The free and philosophical conversation which the confidence of friendship inspires and warrants, is but ill supplied at his supper by the reading of Homer. Horace took care not to forget, in his charming picture of an entertainment distant and uncertain, those amiable feelings with which the near reality of a similar repast does not inspire Juvenal. Here, however, I would make a distinction between this satirist and Boileau. Neither of them were endowed with tenderness of sentiment. But this defect in Boileau proceeded from a coldness of heart and fancy, which rendered him but little susceptible of any passion whatever. Juvenal's heart and fancy were both of them ardent; but their warmth exhausted itself in passions strong, dark, and elevated, not in affections which are amiable and tender.

Sept. 4th.]—I did nothing but finish the twelfth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—130, the end. This performance shews the author's genius for satire, but also that it was the only kind of genius with which he was endowed. In this piece, he certainly did not at first intend writing a satire, but only to congratulate one of his friends, who had been saved from a dreadful shipwreck. After employing, on this subject, two-thirds of the poem, he is at once diverted from it, by recollecting that his friend, for whose safety he is to offer so many sacrifices, has three children. This conduct in himself strikes him as totally opposite to that of the testament-hunters, with whom Rome abounded, and

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and whose attentions were solely bestowed on rich people who were childless. He forgets his friend, for the pleasure of exposing those knaves. The lively picture which he draws of them, is far superior to his description of the tempest, which is tedious, languid, confused, disgraced by declamation, and even by puerility.

I finished the seventeenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the second and third extract from Father Paul's Council of Trent, translated by Father Courayer. It should seem as if the soul of the illustrious Servite animated the regular Canon: the same talents, virtues, and even weaknesses, are common to both. This work is a beautiful monument of the history of religion, the most curious part of the history of the human mind, for those who can soar above the prejudices of sects and parties. *De Verbis ambiguis*, a Reitzio: good design, ill executed. A Dissertation on Suicide, by Robeck. The author threw himself into the Elbe. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity, which far surpassed his understanding.

Sept. 5th.]—I wrote above a page of my collection, and read the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, consisting of 249 verses.

6th.]—I read a second time, the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, and the fourteenth, consisting of 331 verses, for the first time. In the first, the poet offers consolation to a friend, who had been defrauded of ten thousand sesterces, by a knave, who denied the deposit of that sum. In this satire, a divine might find new proofs of the uncertainty

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tainty of the Pagans respecting a Providence and a future state. The poet speaks almost divinely of the torments of a guilty conscience; of its horrid remorse for having violated the laws of justice; and of the dreadful sufferings of him who bears his punishment always in his own heart. His dreams appal him with the most frightful images; and the pain of every calamity that befalls him is heightened by his regarding it as a punishment. But he does not decide whether these terrors rest on any solid foundation. Wickedness and misery are associated in the fancy; but does reason prove that there is a necessary connexion between them? Juvenal does not consider this question, any more than the punishment of the wicked in another life. He mentions this but once, and then contemptuously. Having exhausted his whole eloquence in describing the punishments of vice, he thinks none so powerful and efficacious as that inflicted by the magistrates, with which he concludes. Yet Juvenal had never imbibed the impious philosophy of the Greeks; he was an old Roman, who hearkened to Cato rather than to Chrysippus; and who sincerely venerated the divinity, though he was inclined to laugh at the polytheism of his fellow-citizens.

Sept. 7th.]—I finished the eighteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the letters of Leibnitz. This universal genius here appears as a theologian. As a philosopher, could Leibnitz really hope that an union might be effected among religions? *Vitæ Servii Sulpicii et P. Al-*

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P. Alpheni. The life of the first of these lawyers is as interesting, as that of the second is the reverse. It is written by Everard Otto. *Heineccii Opuscula.* Among these dissertations, that concerning the dress of the first Christians is learned and curious. *Catonis Disticha.* After having read the proofs brought by M. Carnegzieter, it is impossible to doubt that Dionysius Cato was a Pagan who lived before the age of Constantine. It was not necessary, surely, to be a Christian, to be able to retail, in the lowest style, maxims of the plainest common sense.

Sept. 8th.]—I wrote two pages of my collection, and read over again the fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—106.

9th.]—The first volume of the Letters of Baron Bielfeld having accidentally fallen into my hands, engaged and amused me. I was pleased with his description of Berlin, Potsdam, and Hanover. The life led by the King of Prussia, in his retreat, is well sketched. We behold the morning of a beautiful day; but as there are no presages of the tempest, the picture is a little too flattering. As to Homer and England, the Baron is just as well acquainted with the one as with the other.

13th.]—I finished the nineteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée:* it contains the fourteenth and last extract from Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, translated by Courayer. The refined policy of the House of Austria has always known how to avail itself of that superstition of which other nations have been the victims. Aus-

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tria, in particular, rejected the authority of the Council of Trent, which she had appeared to admit most respectfully. *Cæsar's Commentaries, by Oudendorp:* a good and bulky edition. *Thoughts and Theological Dissertations, by Alphonso Turretin:* a weak reasoner, but a good writer. The *Miracles of Abbé Paris, by Montgeron.* This fanaticism of the Jansenists is one of those epidemic maladies of the human mind, which deserves much attention.

Sept. 16th.]—I had a little neglected Juvenal. To-day I read, for the second time, the fourteenth Satire, v. 106—331, the end; and, for the first time, the fifteenth Satire, v. 1—174. There are satires more agreeable than the fourteenth; there are others in which the poet takes a loftier flight; but there are none in which he so much displays his genius for philosophy, the art of connecting his ideas, his precision, and brevity. His brevity resembles not that so common among writers of the present age, who often strangle a thought in hopes of strengthening it; and who applaud their own skill, when they have shewn to us, in a few absurd words, the fourth part of an idea: it is the brevity of Tacitus and Montesquieu, which, after retrenching whatever is superfluous or unnecessary, includes the principal thought in a precise and vigorous expression. By selecting the most characteristic circumstances, the poet sets before your eyes, in five lines, (v. 166—171), the simplicity of the ancient Romans, their love of labour, their domestic happiness, the fruit-

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fruitfulness of their wives, their sober diet, and their aversion to being served by a multitude of foreign slaves. Throughout the whole of this satire, the texture is skilfully combined; the thoughts either rising immediately the one from the other, or the transitions being so natural, that they are almost imperceptible. How justly and artfully does the poet describe the progress of avarice in the human heart? tracing it from its origin, in sordid parsimony, to mean contrivances for gain; and from thence to injustice, violence, and the greatest crimes. The father who first inspired into his son this miserable passion, vainly struggles to check his flagitious career; and after being long the astonished spectator of his crimes, sometimes becomes their victim.

Trepidumque Magistrum
In cavea magno fremitû, leo tollet alumnus;

is an image equally bold and impressive. This master of the lion had exasperated his natural ferocity, in order to render him more deserving the attention of the amphitheatre.

Sept. 17th.]—I read the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—174, the second time; and also read the sixteenth and last Satire. In the first of these Juvenal expresses, undisguised, his hatred against the Egyptian nation and religion. This does not at all surprise me. As a man of good sense, Juvenal despised the absurdities of this worship; he saw how much its introduction into Rome had corrupted the morals of his fellow-citizens; and perceived that those crowded assemblies, in which the

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distinctions of age, rank, and sex were concealed and confounded, under the veil of night and mystery, opened a door to the most abominable debauchery, at the same time that the Egyptian prophets and fortune-tellers taught women and children to calculate, and sometimes to hasten, the deaths of their fathers and husbands. His own banishment into a country which was the object of his contempt or detestation, naturally sharpened his animosity, and carried his resentment to the utmost pitch. I only wish that he had restrained it within the bounds of justice. In a tumult excited by superstition, the Egyptians devoured the flesh of one of their fallen enemies. From this horrid action it was not fair to conclude, that the Egyptians equalled in barbarity the Cyclops and the Lestrigons. The French treated with equal brutality Mareshal d'Ancre, and the Dutch Pensionary de Witt. The fixed and permanent character of a people ought never to be inferred from moments of madness and fury. The poet also too much indulges his talent for declamation. Instead of aggravating the crime of the Egyptians, he in reality lessens it by his unseasonable reasonings, his example of the Vascones, &c. He who violates the principles of Zeno may be worthy of blame; but the monster who insults the dictates of nature can alone excite horror. The genius of our poet is clearly displayed in the witty description of the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals;* in the origin of society, founded on

* Sat. xv. v. 1—14.

those

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those principles of benevolence, which are implanted by nature in the heart of man only;* and in that dreadful, though beautiful picture of the ferocity of an Egyptian.

The sixteenth Satire is not clearly proved to be Juvenal's. It is written weakly, and negligently; but I think we may recognize the master's hand in v. 55. This satire, however, is of considerable importance in history. It has not been sufficiently remarked to what extent the privileges of soldiers were carried under the emperors. In moments of sedition, it was manifest, they overturned their thrones; but it was not known that in time of peace they shared their sovereignty. I know not of a bolder enterprise, in any small portion of a community, than that of withdrawing itself from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, and insisting that its differences, even with the other classes of citizens, should be decided by its own judges. The clergy obtained these privileges in the dark ages; but such pretensions seem to have been more excusable in a body, which was believed to possess all the virtue, and which really possessed all the learning of the times, than they could possibly be in the Roman soldiers, whose ignorance, grossness of manners, despotic and military maxims, removed them to so great a distance from the character belonging to a judge.

I finished Juvenal, whom I regret not being earlier acquainted with; and who, in future, will

* Sat. xv. 129—158.

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be one of my favourite authors. Having written my observations on him, as they occurred in reading his Satires, I have but little to add on the subject; and shall confine myself to two remarks: the first, as to the time in which he lived; the second, concerning his versification. 1st. There is not any Latin poet concerning whom we have so little information; whether from pride or modesty, he has neglected to tell us either the time of his birth, or the circumstances of his life. None of his works were written in commemoration of any great event, which might have ascertained their date. It seems as if he had taken a pleasure in perplexing us, by often speaking of many persons as his contemporaries who lived at very different periods of time. There remain but a few words of an old life of Juvenal, written by an unknown author; which life augments our uncertainty, by its opposition to the clearest inferences from the poet's own works. According to that biographer and his scholiast, Juvenal lived under Nero, who banished him to Egypt, where he died soon afterwards. Yet it is certain that he survived Domitian; that he witnessed the condemnation of Marius Priscus; that Martial, who did not retire into Spain until the reign of Trajan, left him at Rome; and from the date of a consulship, there is reason to suspect, that he was in Egypt in the third year of the reign of Adrian. All the æras perfectly correspond with the system of the learned Dodwell, who thinks that our poet was banished by the last named emperor. Some time ago, I read Dodwell's

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Dodwell's work, the Quintilian Annals. I have not the book at hand, and cannot recollect the proofs which he brings; but I can see several probabilities tending to support his opinion. 2. Juvenal's versification appears to me to be superior to that of most of the Latin poets. Managed by him, the Roman language loses all its roughness. His verses are flowing, harmonious, and animated; although he never sacrifices the sense to the sound. I should fancy that the lines flowed spontaneously from his pen, did I not perceive, amidst a multitude of fine ones, some few that are disgusting, by their rudeness or their languor. To have allowed them to pass uncorrected, a poet must have been extremely inattentive to his versification; since they might have been mended so easily. I remark also, that his poetry is more sparing of ornament in his last satires. If they are placed in the chronological order, this difference may be easily accounted for.

As the Satire of Sulpitia, on the banishment of the philosophers, is printed with the Satires of Juvenal, I had an inclination to examine it; and therefore read it twice over, v. 1—70. The praises bestowed by Martial had prepossessed me in favour of this lady; but, in my opinion, those praises were not her due. Her genius, perhaps, was too feeble to support her in this lofty flight; but was better adapted to subjects that required only taste, spirit, and sensibility. The epigrammatist, perhaps, had as little delicacy in his praise as in his satire; and was carelessly prodigal of his flattery to

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a woman of fashion, whose house was the resort of men of letters. 1. The work is without method or plan; and the beauty of the subject is destroyed by her manner of treating it. Instead of lamenting that the throne of ignorance should be established on the ruins of philosophy and the arts, twenty-three lines of a poem consisting of seventy are consumed in an invocation and conclusion, which informs us of nothing, except that Sulpitia was a woman of great vanity and affectation: and were it not for eight verses casually inserted in the middle of the satire,* I should not be able to guess its subject, as I still am at a loss to discover the meaning and use of the digression, where she examines whether prosperity or adversity were most useful to the republic. 2. As to the style and poetry, it is the misfortune of Sulpitia, that she has not left room for criticising faults, that proceed from genius or fancy. Her work is characterised by coldness, hardness, poverty of invention, rudeness of harmony, and a versification that gratifies neither the ear nor the mind. 3. Women have been accused of want of precision. In this respect Sulpitia does not belie her sex. Without mentioning that she confounds science with wisdom, as if those two things had never been distinguished, I shall only give an example of the most incongruous and absurd simile that I ever remember to have met with. The philosophers banished by Domitian are compared with the Gauls expelled

* Bello fecunda secundo.

by

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by Camillus. It is needless to point out the absurdity of comparing a body of men of letters with a nation of barbarians, and a legal banishment with the defeat of an army; and Sulpitia ought to have remembered that the Gauls had burnt the city, besieged the capitol, and that their conqueror, Camillus, merited the title of second founder of Rome. 4. Justice, however, must be done to Sulpitia. Her satire is adorned by one striking image. Rome, after all her victories, is represented under the figure of the wrestler Milo, who remained alone in the lists, vainly expecting an antagonist. This image is happily conceived; and clearly, though not forcibly, expressed.

Sept. 7th.]—I this day began the description of ancient Rome, by Fabiano Nardini, translated into Latin by Tollius, and inserted in the fourth volume of Grævius's Roman Antiquities, which Mr. Pavillard borrowed for me from the public library of Geneva. This work is much valued by the learned; though I perceive that the Abbé l'Anglet de Fresnoy speaks lightly of its translation. I read l. i. c. i, ii. p. 881—897. Nardini vindicates the account commonly given of the origin of Rome, by arguments very generally known. This is the subject of the first chapter. The second is very interesting, since it examines the extent of the first city, built by Romulus, which comprehended only the Palatine Mount; and when the Sabines took the Capitol, this meant the citadel.

Sept. 18.]—I read Nardini, l. i. c. iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p. 897—945, which terminates the first book. A variety of subjects are treated with great learn-

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learning, considerable judgment, and a minute accuracy; which is commonly instructive, but sometimes tiresome. Having finished his description of the city built by Romulus, he examines the addition made to it by Tatius, the ally of that king, on the Capitoline Hill; and then proceeds to consider the form given to it by Servius Tullius, (the least celebrated, but perhaps the greatest of all its legislators,) and the wall which bounded the extent of Rome to the reign of Aurelian. This wall he traces with great attention, directed by an exact local knowledge. It results from the whole of his observations, that the circuit of ancient Rome was scarcely so considerable as that of the modern: a fact which totally overturns the systems of Lipsius and Vossius. Nardini is very happy in explaining the famous passage of Pliny, which treats of the *twelve* gates; and which ought not to be reckoned more, since we learn from two passages of Cicero and Livy, that several of the Roman gates had two arches, called Jani; which are still distinguishable on ancient monuments. Nardini is not equally successful in explaining the Pomœrium. In spite of all his hypotheses, there are still three propositions on this subject, which rest on equally good authority, and are yet contradictory to each other. 1. That the Pomœrium was a consecrated slip of ground on both sides of the walls. 2. That the walls of Rome had the same extent from Servius Tullius to Aurelian. 3. That Sylla, Julius Cæsar, and the emperor Claudius, extended the Pomœrium.

I this day finished the twentieth volume of the *Biblio-*

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Bibliothèque Raisonnée; which contains the translation of Diodorus Siculus, by the Abbé Terasson. It is remarkable that a man, who despised the finest writers of antiquity, should have condescended to become the translator of an historian, whose accidental utility far surpasses his real merit. Though this translation be esteemed, the critic here exposes many of its errors. Two editions of Titus Livius, with his supplements; one by Drakenborch, and the other by Crevier. In the first, the text of Livy is buried under a weight of the commentaries, good or bad, that have been written on that author. The second contains a sensible life of the historian, a judicious selection of the best remarks on his work, and displays as much intelligence as taste on the part of the editor. He includes the first fifteen books, together with his own prolegomena, in 828 pages; whereas the Dutch editor bestows 2159 pages on the first nineteen books, *cum notis variorum.* The latter edition, however, may be considered as a good repertory. *Syntagma Dissertationum ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentium* a Moshemio. His ecclesiastical dissertations seem to me to have more merit than his theological ones. *The Truth of the Miracles of Mr. Paris;* second and third Extract. The journalist carefully sifts the cure of young Alphonso of Palacios: if none of the miracles was better than this, the Jesuits needed not to have ascribed them to the devil. *La Friponnerie Laïque, Lay Fraud,* by Dr. Bentley. An answer to the famous book of Collins, full of learning and scurrility; in the latter of which the author is outdone by his translator and critic.

Sept.

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Sept. 19.]—I read Nardini, l. ii. c. i, ii, iii. p. 949—961. After fixing the limits of the city, he describes the seven hills which they included. The reverse of this method would perhaps have been more natural. He explains very clearly the different divisions of the people and of the city, the tribes and curiæ of Romulus, the tribes instituted by Servius, the fourteen regions of Augustus, and the seven regions of the first popes. I wish he had inquired into the distribution of the curiæ after the reign of Servius, and determined whether they were again divided among the tribes instituted by that prince; whether the division of the tribes by Romulus continued to subsist merely for the purpose of the *comitia curiata;* or whether, after the time of Servius, the division of the people by curiæ, had no longer any relation to their division by tribes. The latter opinion appears to me the more probable.

20th.]—I finished the second book of Nardini, chapters fourth and fifth. I also read the third book, c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii. p. 961—1005. He speaks of the authors who have given us descriptions of Rome; such as Publius Victor, Sextus Rufus, Onuphrius, Panvinius, and the *Notitia Imperii.* Their chief utility arises from their having had before their eyes many monuments which are now known only by books. Yet notwithstanding this advantage, their descriptions are so inferior in point of accuracy to those of modern critics, (Nardini for example,) that the latter are continually obliged to correct their mistakes, to supply their defects, and sometimes even to point out their contradictions.

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traditions. After these preliminary matters, Nardini proceeds to describe the fourteen regions of the city; treating minutely in this part of his work, the first region, or that of the Porta Capena; and the second, or that of the Mons Cælius. We may pronóunce his researches in general to be successful. By combining a multitude of passages scattered in ancient authors, both with each other, and with his local knowledge of Rome, he is enabled to ascertain the situation of the greater part of its monuments. His account of the valley of Egeria, which lies on the left of the *Porta Capena*, between the Latin and Appian ways, illustrated, much to my satisfaction, several passages in Juvenal. He employs the half of a chapter in investigating the true meaning of the words *domus* and *insula*, and in confuting Lipsius's opinion on that subject. Grævius is equally dissatisfied with the explications of Lipsius and his antagonist. If these antiquaries, who were better critics than logicians, had been at as much pains to acquire an exact idea of their subject, as to heap up citations, I am persuaded they would easily have perceived, 1. That the word *insula*, which in its application to the houses of Rome, was at first metaphorical, denoted every edifice that was entirely insulated, and whose walls were completely separated from those of the neighbouring buildings. This primitive signification of the word is supported both by the nature of the thing and the authority of Festus; and we ought not to mix with this essential characteristic, any accessory ideas. 2. Without disputing that, in the first ages of Rome, the number of such edifices was great,

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we may boldly affirm that it became much greater after the conflagration in the reign of Nero; and that in the age of Constantine, buildings called *insulæ* filled the whole extent of the city. Tacitus informs us of a wise regulation made by Nero, forbidding the use of walls common to two contiguous houses, and requiring that the walls of each house should be distinct and separate from those of the houses nearest to it. The *insulæ* cannot be more accurately defined than by this description; and we cannot doubt whether the edict was carried into execution, when we read in Publius Victor, that in the fourth century there were 46,000 *insulæ* in the capital; and that, with the exception of not more than 1800 *domus*, all the dwellings of Rome were comprehended under that name. Since the fact is ascertained, it is our business not to contest, but to explain it. I will not therefore allege that the whole city could not have been rebuilt agreeably to Nero's edict, because there was only a part of it consumed by the conflagration under his reign. As the edict was a wise one, it would naturally be perpetuated by his successors; and in the space of three hundred years from Nero to Victor, there was time for rebuilding the whole city according to the new plan. The unpleasing effect of so many separate houses to the eye, ought not to create any difficulty: safety is to be preferred to beauty; especially to a beauty dependent on fashion; so that, provided the streets were straight and spacious, the eye would be abundantly gratified. 3. This edict regulated only the situation of houses, but left their size and shape to the discretion of each

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each proprietor. Nero's palace and the house of an artificer were equally entitled to the appellation of *insulæ*, provided they had the specific character of standing detached and separate from all other buildings. The number of such *insulæ* could not be considerable. The *great* form but a small proportion of any community; and the expense, together with the inconvenience and danger attending a separate dwelling, incline me to believe that the lower classes at Rome were contented with lodgings; which appears really to have been the case, both from Juvenal and Martial. The avaricious industry of man will serve better to convince us than all the passages in ancient authors, that there would be a number of builders, who promoted the beauty of the city and the convenience of its inhabitants by erecting large edifices, of which the separate apartments were let to different families. This practice, which became general, greatly extended the signification of the word *insulæ*, by connecting with it a new meaning. It began to denote a multitude of families living under the same roof, and therefore a house hired to the lower classes of the people: and in this sense it is taken by Petronius and the writers on the Roman law. 4. From the number of the *insulæ* would it be possible to ascertain that of the inhabitants of Rome? Victor and the *Notitia Imperii* fix the former at 46,602. We learn from Juvenal, that the houses of the Romans consisted commonly of four stories;* and if we suppose each

* Juvenal Satir. iii. 197—202.

story

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story to have lodged a family of six persons, each of the *insulæ* would contain twenty-four inhabitants. Those which were let to hire could not have fewer, and the palaces of the rich would contain a far greater number.* This surplus may be divided among the small *insulæ* not let to hire, but belonging to those who inhabited them: so that by multiplying the number of *insulæ* by twenty-four, we shall have 1,118,448 for the inhabitants of Rome. I am pleased with this number, which, without passing the bounds of credibility, corresponds with the great extent of the city, and with all that we are told of its populousness. It might be clearly proved that Nardini's system would give but 360,000 inhabitants to the capital of the world; whereas Grævius's hypothesis would require four or five millions: both which numbers seem to me highly improbable. 5. As to the 1800 houses, *domus*, which in all the descriptions of Rome are reckoned separately, their name, their numbers, and a passage of Suetonius concur in making me believe that they were the principal buildings, or palaces of Rome. I think, however, they need not be distinguished from the *insulæ;* since if they are removed from this class by their greatness, they may be again reduced to it by their detached situation, which was the original and specific meaning of the word.†

Sept.

* We must remember that the slaves were numerous in great families.

† See concerning the whole question, *Lips. ad Tacit. Annal.* xv.

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Sept. 22d.]—The second volume of Baron Bielfeld's Letters withdrew my attention from Nardini. I am interested in the Baron's character; his letters give a lively picture of the German courts. I should have preferred indeed some account of the character and history of the king of Prussia, and the suppers at Potsdam, to the description of all those galas and marriages. But fear or discretion impose rigorous laws on a German author.

23d.]—I read Nardini, l. iii. the remainder of c. vii. and c. viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p. 1005—1039. He finishes the description of the second region, and proceeds to that of the third (Isis and Moneta,) which he also concludes; and then commences the description of the fourth (Templum Pacis.) As he draws near to the centre of the city, his materials become more abundant, from the greater quantity of ancient monuments in that neighbourhood. He traces distinctly the Via Sacra; whose situation, indeed, is ascertained by a variety of sure limits. This famous street is bounded, on one side, by the Fabian arch, which led to the Roman Forum; and, on the other, it terminates at the Colosseum, by which it was separated from the street called Suburra; which some antiquaries vainly endeavoured to place elsewhere; but whose position is fixed by Nardini with much learning and accuracy. The ceremony practised in the Regia, bears,

xv. *Nardini Roma Vetus, l. iii. c. iv. p. 985, 986, 987: et Græv. in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Thesaur. Antiq. Roman.* I have availed myself of all their quotations.

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in my opinion, all the marks of the highest antiquity: a people, desirous of representing the God of War, but who were incapable or unwilling to imitate the human figure, and therefore adored him under the form of a spear; a horse sacrificed in the field, whose bloody head was carried in procession, and fixed to the wall of the Regia; every thing in these rites points to a Scythian origin, and indicates the manners of wandering barbarians. Even the military sports of the inhabitants of the Via Sacra and Suburra date their origin from a period when society was yet in its infancy. The Via Sacra leads to the Temple of Peace and the Colosseum, two of the finest monuments of Rome, which that city owes to the most avaricious of its princes. Happy the people, whose princes, by habitual economy, are capable of executing great undertakings!

Sept. 24th.]—I read Nardini, l. iii. c. xiii, xiv, xv. and l. iv. c. i.—x. p. 1039—1125. He continues and concludes the description of the fourth region, and proceeds to the fifth, (Esquilinus,) the sixth, (Alta Semita,) and the seventh (Via Lata.) He sets clearly before our eyes the infernal action of Tullia. She ascended the Vicus Cyprius, and had already reached the extremity of that street, where it divides into two branches: that on the right led to the Esquiline Mount and the palace of Servius Tullius; that on the left (Vicus Patricius) joined the Esquiline and the Viminal, forming a street where the Patricians lived under the eyes of their king. It was here that the bloody body of her father could not stop the chariot of Tullia. The horror

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horror excited by her deed, separated this place from the *Vicus Cyprius*, and gave to it the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*. In the eighth satire of the third book of Horace, a difficulty occurs respecting the Esquiline Mount. The gardens of Mecænas stood on a ground formerly employed as a public burying place. There is not any doubt of the fact; but it is uncertain when this change took place. Nardini thinks that it was in the reign of Servius. But it seems to me, that a glance at this satire is sufficient to show that the passage in Horace is not a cold and far-fetched allusion to an event that happened five hundred years before his own time; but that he speaks of a change operated under his own eyes, and by the direction of his patron. But Mount Esquilin, I shall be told, was ever since the time of Servius within the walls of Rome: and can it be believed that slaves should have been interred in a city, which scarcely granted that honour to emperors? I feel the whole weight of this objection; yet I would ask, whether the Esquiline, though within the walls, was therefore within the Pomœrium? This cannot be determined. Mount Aventine was within the circuit traced by Servius, and the emperor Claudius surrounded it with walls six centuries afterwards. The prohibition of interring in cities proceeded from the pontifical law; and the college of priests regulated, at pleasure, the limits of the Pomœrium. This is but an hypothesis, yet it is the only solution I can give of the difficulty. We still see on Mount Aventine a triumphal arch, which a private citizen raised in

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honour of the emperor Gallienus. The rudeness of the work is surpassed by the coarse flattery of the inscription. A prince, who left his father a prisoner among the Persians, and the empire a prey to its enemies, is extolled for his valour, which is only exceeded by his piety. It is allowable to transform the defects of princes into kindred excellencies; to call their ambition magnanimity; their severity justice; and their cowardice moderation. This does not offend us, because it is the custom. But when Gallienus is flattered for virtues most opposite to his character, we are almost tempted to believe that, under the flattery, a severe satire is concealed. This inscription is still more impudent than the *pax ubique*, which Mr. Addison read on a medal of the same Gallienus.

Sept. 25th.]—I read Nardini, l. v. c. i, ii, iii, iv. p. 1125—1149. He has now reached the centre of the city, where it was impossible to advance a step without finding some monument of the religion, greatness, or policy of Rome, but unfortunately the greater part of those monuments no longer exist, except in ancient authors. They speak of a little chapel dedicated to Concord, concerning which I shall say a few words. This chapel was the work rather of hatred than of piety; it was built by C. Flavius, that sworn enemy of the nobles, with a view to mortify their pride. How did he accomplish this purpose? 1. By performing the ceremony of dedication himself. The senate beheld with indignation an edile arrogating to himself the functions hitherto reserved for dictators and

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and consuls.* 2. In a manner less direct indeed, but still more offensive, which but few readers have perceived in a passage of Pliny.† In the midst of sedition, Flavius vowed to consecrate a temple to the goddess Concord, on condition that she re-established harmony among the different orders of citizens. The chapel was consecrated, and the æra of its dedication fixed by an inscription, at the distance of 104 years from that of the Concord of the Capitol,‡ which had been built by Camillus, in consequence of a similar vow. It may easily be imagined how much the patricians were mortified at seeing this plebeian Concord, the work of an edile, standing in the neighbourhood of the patrician Concord of their dictator. In this interesting passage, the date only is erroneous. The first dedication was in the year of Rome 386; the second, in the year 448. Instead of the number 104, we must therefore read 62.

I finished the twenty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the panegyric of Alphonso Turretin, by Mr. Vernet; in which the beauty of the style exceeds that of the subject. This piece owes its fame to its excellent latinity; to ideas borrowed from England, and then new on the continent: and to a degree of candour not usual with theologians of that age. Its celebrity

* T. Liv. ix. 46.

† Post Capitolinam, according to the edition of Delcampius. I should like to consult that of Hardouin. Nardini erroneously reads post Capitolium. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.

‡ Plutarch. in Camill.

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is now in the wane. *Dissertations of the Academy of Cortona*: the subjects are well treated, but ill chosen. *Letters of Mr. Mayans, and the Life of Dean Marti prefixed to his Letters, published by the same Mr. Mayans.* The barbarism of their country, which these two Spaniards continually deplore, entitles them to an indulgence, of which they stand in much need. The *Critical History of Philosophy, by Mr. Deslandes:* a lively, but light performance. *Hesiod, by Mr. Robinson:* the preface is elaborate. *First Extract from Mr. Wesseling's Discourse on the famous Inscription of Berenice,* which has so much exercised the ingenuity of the learned. He considers it only in relation to the Jews.

Sept. 26th.]—I read Nardini, l. v. c. v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p. 1149—1216. After having exhausted the subject of the Roman Forum, he passes to the surrounding monuments, particularly the Forum of Cæsar, that of Augustus, and that of Trajan. A Forum was properly a place adorned on all sides with temples and porticos; but whose essential characteristic consisted in a Basilica, or court of justice. As the Roman judges anciently sat in the open air, authors have been led to confound the Forum with the Basilica, and to mention it sometimes as an open square, and at other times as a covered building. Trajan's pillar, which stands in the middle of his Forum, is a beautiful monument, and highly dignified by its description. To preserve by one great work the memory of a work still greater; to raise a pillar one

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one hundred and twenty-six feet high, in order to celebrate the levelling of a mountain of equal altitude, is worthy of that sublime architecture which speaks to the mind as much as to the eyes, and which the Romans understood better than any people on earth. In crossing the Forum of Augustus, you perceive the temple of Mars the Avenger; where, in consequence of an edict of that prince, the senate assembled for the purpose of decreeing triumphs. This edict, which seemed merely a regulation of police, was essentially connected with the great changes introduced by Augustus, and with his whole system of policy. The senate formerly assembled in the temple of Mars or Bellona, which stood without the walls; the general not being allowed to hold his military rank in the city. But when Augustus was invested with the extraordinary character of Imperator, this new generalissimo remained for life in the midst of the Forum, and held the sword always raised over the heads of the citizens.

Sept. 27th.]—I read Nardini, l. v. c. iii, xiv, xv, xvi. p. 1237—1297, which concludes the book; of which I found it very difficult to form a distinct idea. He treats of several objects, and those so complicated, that it is scarcely possible to paint them in the mind without seeing them delineated on paper. A good topographical chart of the Capitoline Mount would have been extremely useful; but if such a chart was made by Nardini,* it

* He refers to it himself, V. l. v. c. x. p. 1028.

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is here omitted by his editor. That of D'Anville exhibits accurately the general outline; but does not represent particulars. Nardini's style, or that of his translator, is also exceedingly puzzling; and his arrangement faulty in the extreme; since the thirteenth chapter supposes the reader acquainted with the fourteenth, and the eleventh and twelfth chapters cannot be understood without a previous acquaintance with the thirteenth. By repeated perusals, and attentive meditations, I at length surmounted these obstacles, which have served perhaps to engrave more deeply in my mind the image of the Capitoline Mount. It had two summits, quite distinct from each other, though often confounded by the ancients, and mistaken by the moderns. The southern summit, which overlooked the Tiber, was almost contiguous to the rude Tarpeian rocks, which are now scarcely perceptible; and was called *Arx*, the citadel. The northern summit properly formed the Capitol. It was the scite of the temple of Jupiter. The valley separating the two mountains was called *Intermontium*, and covered with a thick forest; where Romulus established the famous Asylum, which was the nursery of his colony. Afterwards the forest disappeared, to make room for magnificent edifices. The valley and both mountains were inclosed with a strong wall. Three roads led to the Capitol from the Forum. 1. The *Centum Gradus*, which began a little beyond the temple of Concord, and terminated at the temple of Juno Moneta in the citadel. 2. The road belonging to the Asylum, which was that

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that through which conquerors passed in triumph. 3. The *Clivus Capitolinus*, whose situation is less accurately determined than that of the two others. After carefully weighing the arguments of Marlianus and Nardini, I am obliged to say, that neither party supports his opinion with much force. I adopt, however, that of the former; if one of the roads had the name of *Clivus Capitolinus*, it is natural to think that it led to the Capitol, properly so called; and on this supposition each summit must have had its particular road, besides that common to both.

Sept. 28th.]—I read Nardini, l. vi. c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii. p. 1237—1297. Having described the eighth region, comprehending the Forum and the Capitol, he proceeds through the *Porta Carmentalis*, to examine the ninth, or Campus Martius, which was without the city till enclosed by Aurelian's wall. The Romans, after expelling the Tarquins, consecrated to Mars a field which had belonged to that family; and which afterwards served for the place of military exercises and the assemblies of the people. The legacy of Tarutia, consisting of a field between the Campus Martius and the Tiber, and that of Flaminius, consisting of some meadows beyond the Porta Carmentalis, speedily enlarged the bounds of the public property; which still continued a bare and smooth plain, except that the sight was interrupted by an ancient prison; by a temple of Bellona, built in the year of Rome 457; and by the *Equiria* and *Septa*, which resembled rather inclosures for sheep than

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than public edifices. In the changes which the Campus Martius gradually underwent, we may distinguish three principal æras. 1. Towards the year of Rome 535, and a little before the second Punic war, the same Flaminius, who afterwards perished in the battle near the lake Thrasymenus, built a circus on the ground which had formerly belonged to his ancestors. This circus was soon surrounded by the temple of Hercules Musagetes, by that of Juno, and by the portico of Octavius, &c. and a small suburb began to be built without the Porta Carmentalis, towards the middle of the seventh century of Rome. 2. Towards the end of that century, the great Pompey, at his return from his eastern conquests, *spoliis orientis onustus*, wished to distinguish himself by some public edifices; but there not being room within the walls, he extended the bounds of this suburb towards the Campus Martius; and built there his magnificent theatre, the first that had been seen at Rome. This theatre was surrounded by a temple of Venus, a *curia*, a portico, a fine garden, and a temple consecrated to the fortune of the knights. 3. Amidst his other great designs for embellishing the city, Augustus did not forget the Campus Martius. He adorned it with beautiful buildings, and encouraged the grandees of Rome to follow his example. None imitated him more eagerly than his son-in-law Agrippa, of whose magnificence the *Septa*, baths, gardens, lake or bason, and above all the pantheon, were conspicuous proofs. In the time of Strabo, the suburb of the Campus Martius was but

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but little inferior to the city itself. Its populousness, however, was never proportional to its extent; the public gardens occupied much ground; and there was still left an empty space for the military exercises of the Roman youth. As early as the time of Cicero,* there was mention of taking the Campus Martius within the walls, that it might be filled with buildings, while a field belonging to the Vatican should be set apart for the purposes in which the Field of Mars had formerly been employed. But this project was never carried into execution. How many reflections does this slight sketch naturally excite! That people of kings, who so well deserve this appellation, enjoyed collectively all the rights of sovereignty, and all the pleasures of grandeur; a citizen never stirred from his house but he walked under a beautiful portico; or took his seat with 80,000 of his countrymen in a magnificent theatre, which exhibited the greatest curiosities on earth; or reposed himself in those *thermæ*, or baths, in which were united all the pleasures of the mind and senses, with the pomp befitting the greatest monarchs. Ambitious generals lavished their wealth on the people, first to obtain preferment, and afterwards to make them forget that it had been bestowed. But it will always be matter of surprise, how the grandees of Rome, a Pompey or an Agrippa, could so easily accomplish such vast undertakings. What sources could supply their extraordinary expenses? War

* Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 33.

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and the Provinces. Unprincipled generals robbed the subjects of the state; those who had any remains of virtue, were satisfied with plundering the public enemy. What vast wealth was necessary for supporting the magnificence of Pompey! Yet the moderation and disinterestedness, by which he was honourably distinguished from other generals, was praised publicly in the presence of the Roman people.* His triumph displayed in the streets of Rome the wealth of the subjugated east; although, during the ages when the army really belonged to the republic, that wealth would have increased the treasury of the state; but the generals had been long accustomed to appropriate the spoils of war,† and to expect gratitude from the people, for the ostentatious employment of the people's riches. The citizens must have felt indignation against the pride of Lucullus, when they beheld that selfish voluptuary making houses and gardens which bade defiance to the elements, and brought together the seasons, without raising a single monument for the honour of the gods, or the accommodation of his fellow-citizens. Among the works of Agrippa, there is one which shews how much that virtuous citizen still loved the republic, and how honestly he served a master, of whose artful policy his own simplicity was the dupe. This work is the *Septa*. A man who adorned the place of assembly for the

* Cicero pro Lege Manilia, c. xxii, xxiii.

† Bergier Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, l. i. c. xxi. p. 77—80.

Roman

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Roman people, must have been ignorant that Augustus was gradually undermining their authority, and bringing their assemblies into such contempt, that his successor could without fear totally abolish them.

I finished the twenty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* I find the second extract of Wesseling's Treatise on the famous passage of Victor Tunnunensis, of which Infidels have so much availed themselves. He beats all their works in pieces, and far more effectually than Bentley. Foster's Sermons: always moderate and judicious. A work on Foreign Service, by Mr. Bochat. Were reason convinced, yet the heart would always rebel against this barbarous custom of the Swiss: but reason is far from being convinced of the utility of this practice. Marti's Letters, second extract. Mr. Marti is merely a scholar of the fifteenth century, and still at the dawn of science: much ill-chosen erudition, a profound veneration for the ancients, and that servile imitation of their manners, which is its surest mark. Many designs left imperfect for want of assistance; and many observations, good and bad, but already made in all the countries of Europe. *The Learning of the Apostles:* a very curious performance, by Mr. Lami of Florence. *The History of Ancient Treaties, by Barbeyrac:* accurate and useful. *The Natural History of Languedoc, by Mr. Astruc:* curious and well written. The first extract contains the article Geography, which is his first class; where he enters into a very interesting account of the Narbonnese

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Narbonnese province of Septimania, of which he gives a very forced etymology; and especially of the ancient authors who speak of Languedoc.

Sept. 29th.]—I read Nardini, l. vi. c. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p. 1297—1347. He describes the remainder of the ninth region, the most extensive, and also one of the most ornamented of the whole city. From thence he proceeds to the tenth, *Mons Palatinus;* small in itself, but famous both as the cradle of the nation and the seat of its empire. Augustus fixed his residence there, in the house of the orator Hortensius, affecting the modesty of a citizen, rather than the magnificence of a prince. Tiberius enlarged this residence on the side next to the Forum; and Caius extended it to the temple of Castor. Nero seemed to wish comprehending in it the whole city. He covered the mount Palatine with buildings that reached to the circus; and, on the other side, filled with edifices the plain bounded by the Palatine, the Esquiline, and mount Cælius, even to the neighbourhood of Mecænas's gardens. The ascent to his palace, the Domus Aurea, led through the Via Sacra, in the middle of which street stood the *Vestibulum*, or great court, which was afterwards the scite of the Temple of Peace. Farther on stood the great hall, or Atrium, which led to his gardens, immense porticos, and the lake or pool which afterwards became the scite of Titus's amphitheatre. Vespasian destroyed the greatest part of those buildings, and confined his palace to the Palatine Mount, the greater part of which he continued to occupy. Domitian added many

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many embellishments, which were increased by almost all his successors, until the Palatine palace, being forsaken by the emperors, perished of decay, in the reign of Theodoric. The Farnese palace now stands on its ruins. The imperial residence astonished every beholder by its vast extent, the magnificence of its furniture, the richness of its ornaments, and the multitude of its temples; from which last it derived an august and sacred appearance. I think it doubtful, whether the elegance of the architecture corresponded to all this grandeur. Since it was the work of fifty successive princes, it must have been built without any fixed plan, and therefore deficient in the principal merit of proportion and harmony. Unfortunately too, it must have lost in point of taste, in proportion as it gained in magnificence. Simplicity was the aim of Augustus, in an age when art flourished; and ornaments were added by the feeble and languishing taste of his successors. This palace therefore has never been numbered among the beautiful edifices of Rome.

Sept. 30th.]—I read Nardini, l. vii. c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. p. 1347—1402. He describes the eleventh region, or Circus Maximus; the twelfth, or Piscina Publica; and the thirteenth, or Mons Aventinus. He enters into many particulars concerning the circus, the largest perhaps of all the edifices destined for the exhibition of shows. Tarquinius Priscus, by whom it was built, seems not to have adapted it to the smallness of the state in his own time, but to the greatness which fortune had

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had in store for Rome. Every particular tends to convince us, that the circus was fitted for containing a vast number of people. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, 150,000; Pliny, 260,000; Victor, 380,000; the modern Victor, 385,000; and the Notitia Imperii, 405,000. In this great diversity of authorities, how ought we to form our judgment? By consulting facts, places, and experience. We know the situation and the bounds of the circus. They always remained the same; and the alterations which took place, regarded only the interior arrangement of the edifice, since those who have examined its ruins are scarcely able to trace the three stadia and a half in length, which were assigned to it by the first founder.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives it four *jugera*, or 960 Roman feet in breadth; Pliny makes it three stadia long, and one stadium, or 625 Roman feet, broad. This apparent contradiction Nardini considers as a source of much information.† According to his explanation, Dionysius spoke of the exterior circumference, and Pliny of the interior. The intermediate buildings exhausted the difference; and as these were filled with spectators their extent is an object of importance. To find their breadth, we have only to subtract 625 feet from 960; the remainder is 335 feet; the half of which, 168 feet, multiplied by three stadia, 1875 feet, will give the space allotted for the spectators on both sides.

* Traité des Mesures Itinéraires, par M. d'Anville, p. 59.

† As to the breadth of the circus, Pliny himself expressly confirms this explanation.

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The covered buildings, which formed the exterior circumference, were made of wood, two stories high, and surrounded by a portico. The seats were of stone, and arranged like those of the amphitheatre, descending on all sides from the covered building to the *Euripus* and the *Arena*. The exterior portico must have been double: it therefore occupied thirty feet. Of the 138 which remain, I would allow 48 for the covered seats, and 90 for those of stone. Every thing considered, this proportion appears to me the most probable; although the 138 feet may be otherwise distributed without injuring our calculations. When we reflect on the smallness of the Roman foot,* and the great attention bestowed in procuring every sort of convenience for the spectators, less than two feet and a half can scarcely be allowed for each person, and three feet in depth for the benches, as well as for the intervals between them. The first bench then, extending three stadia, contained 750 persons, since the stone seats rose to the height of 90 feet. The spectators ascended by thirty steps, which served

* The Roman, English, and Paris foot, are in the proportion of 1306, 1351½, and 1440. The first contains nearly 11⅓ inches of English, and 10⅞ of French measure. *Traité des Mesures*, &c. p. 164. After attentively reflecting on the subject, I prefer allowing to each person 2¼ feet. This will give 120,000 persons who were seated, and 30,000 who stood in the porticos. There is still something to be said concerning Mr. D'Anville's measurement of the circus; but this will be better deferred, until I have visited Rome.

Florence, 11th July, 1764.

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also for seats. They contained 22,500 persons. Each story of the covered buildings, being of the same length, divided the 48 feet which it occupied into sixteen benches; the two stories, comprehending thirty-two benches, therefore, contained 24,000 persons; the whole spectators seated on either side amounted to 46,500; and the total, on both sides together, to 93,000. There still remains one of the ends of the circus, for the other was occupied by the *Carceres*. It was as long as the circus was broad; that is, a stadium, or 625 feet; so that if we allow to it the same depth as to the sides, and calculate on the same principles, it must have contained 15,500, or a third part of those contained by each of the sides. This number, added to 93,000, gives 108,500 for the whole spectators seated in the circus. It may well be imagined, that at the great games, the passionate love for those amusements would crowd the porticos with spectators, who sacrificed their ease to their curiosity. But I think they could not well exceed 40 or 50,000. More are not required for completing the number of 150,000, assigned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. To explain the prodigious multitude mentioned by the two Victors,* and the Notitia Imperii, I require but one supposition, which is, that those writers of the Lower Empire had but little judgment, and still less taste. Those who are best

* The most judicious edition of the modern Victor is that published by Pavinius. The numerous additions are justly despised as the work of an impostor. *Nardini Roma Vetus*, l. ii. c. v. p. 965.

acquainted

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acquainted with them will not dispute the point. Compilers of their class might mistake for historic truth a poetical licence, or the exaggeration of a flattering inscription. When Juvenal, giving way to the warmth of his indignation, cries out

Totam hodie Romam circus capit;*

when an inscription in honour of Trajan says, that this prince rendered the circus capable of containing the whole people of Rome,† these abridgers might explain such passages literally, and thus express the number of spectators in the circus by that of Roman citizens. If we consider the passage of the ancient Victor, the least erroneous of the three, and add to the number mentioned in it, that of the Roman slaves, according to the proportion which the Athenian slaves bore to the citizens, we shall find that the whole inhabitants of Rome amounted to 1,140,000. My conjecture is strengthened by observing, that this number nearly agrees to that ascertained by a more exact calculation.‡ But if this explanation be rejected, we must pronounce that those writers have most grossly deceived themselves. I am unwilling to say as much of Pliny; yet there is no alternative; the naturalist declares that he speaks of the circus as embellished and enlarged by Julius Cæsar. Dionysius of Halicarnassus was contemporary with the Dictator, and published his work under his successor. We might cut the Gordian knot by reading 160,000 instead

* Juvenal, Satir. xi. 195.

† Dio. Cass. apud Nardini, l. vii. c. ii. p. 1355.

‡ Journal, 20th September, p. 316—320.

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of 260,000. But what becomes of the manuscripts!

Oct. 1.]—I read Nardini, l. vii. c. x, xi, xii, xiii. and l. viii. c. i, ii, iii. p. 1402—1446. The author at length crosses the Tiber, and examines the fourteenth and last region, called Transtiberina, and the Mount Vatican, which never was enclosed within the walls of ancient Rome. The eighth book begins by a general recapitulation of the edifices of the city; from thence he proceeds to some general topics; such as the Tiber and its bridges. I shall venture to make some reflections on the depth of that river. On this subject we can derive nothing from experience; for though we may easily measure the present depth of the Tiber, this will not ascertain what it was anciently. The ruined edifices which have raised the vallies almost to the height of the mountains, must have produced a similar change in the bed of the river. It becomes necessary, therefore, to have recourse to the ancients; and our difficulty is much increased by an apparent contradiction between two authorities of the first rank. Pliny every where mentions the Tiber as navigable for the largest ships.* The prodigious vessel which carried the obelisk of the Vatican from Alexandria to Rome, sailed up the Tiber as easily as it had sailed down the Nile.† Strabo,‡ on the contrary, assures us, that the vast heaps of mud which were washed down by the current, and deposited at the

* Plin. Hist. Natur. l. ii. 5. † Idem, l. xvi. 40. l. xxxvi. 9.
‡ Strabon. Geograph. l. v. p. 60.

mouth

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mouth of the river, rendered it necessary for large ships to unload a part of their cargo, before they could arrive at the city. If this contradiction is as strong as it at first sight appears, it will be difficult to conceive how such accurate writers could be deceived in a matter so generally known; and scarcely possible to determine which of the two is chargeable with the fault. The difference between them may perhaps be diminished, if not totally removed, by the following reflections: 1. In the narration of Pliny I perceive much prepossession; a desire to exaggerate the advantages of the Tiber, and to magnify it by a comparison with the greatest rivers. Nothing short of such a design could have made him compare it with the Nile, to which it is so much inferior. Both rivers had carried the vessel containing the obelisk. The Tiber, therefore, is equal to the Nile. A giant lifts a weight of ten pounds, so does a dwarf; the dwarf therefore is as strong as the giant. Such is Pliny's reasoning. The transportation of the obelisk must be allowed; but no conclusion can be drawn from it concerning the equality of depth in the two rivers. 2. Experience teaches us, that rivers which carry down much slime and sand, are not thereby rendered more shallow, except near to their mouths, where the strength of their streams is commonly much abated. There great accumulations are formed; but as currents much prevail at the mouths of rivers, the accumulations naturally follow their direction, and throw themselves on the neighbouring coast. In this manner the Rhine

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discharges its obstructions on the coast of Languedoc, whose harbours are thereby blocked up. The Tiber, likewise, discharged its mud on the coast of Latium, by which the harbour of Ostia became inaccessible. Some sand-banks, doubtless, remained in particular places of the river in consequence of local circumstances: but these obstacles might be surmounted or shunned; and, from Strabo's narrative well considered, we can only infer that a vessel drawing much water, could not sail up the Tiber without exertions of skill and courage. 3. The latter is not inspired by commerce. We can easily, therefore, believe with Strabo, that foreign merchants were glad to unload part of their cargoes, and to put them on board of lighters, which were ready for their service; and whose masters, from motives of interest, would not fail to exaggerate the dangers of the voyage. I can believe also with Pliny, that a Caligula, who sported equally with his treasures and the lives of his subjects, and who valued himself on setting reason and the elements at defiance, could do every thing not impossible. Every exertion would second his enterprise. The bed of the river would be previously cleared; sluices would be skilfully distributed; and the strength of men and horses would impel to Rome the vessel carrying the obelisk of the Vatican. I doubt not that the success of this trial would convince mariners that part of the obstacles were imaginary; and that, by improving their art, even those which were real might be much diminished. Whatever

was

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was the case with ships, it is certain that gallies, which indeed draw much less water, easily sailed up the Tiber to Rome. Cato performed this voyage in a galley with seven tire of oars, and landed at the *Navalia*, near the foot of the Mount Aventine. Rome therefore was a maritime city, and open to the insults of a hostile fleet, notwithstanding the opinion of Camillus, or rather of Titus Livius,* to the contrary. Why did not the Carthaginians, who were often masters of the sea, attempt such an enterprise? Had they embarked on the river towards evening, they might before daybreak have landed at the foot of the Capitol.† They had not courage for the undertaking, and their ships were not so well fitted for war as for commerce.

Oct. 2.]—I read Nardini, l. viii. c. iv, v. p. 1446—1460; which concludes the whole work; the excellence of which, its accuracy, judgment, and learning, must leave but small gleanings for subsequent writers. Perhaps he is chargeable with being too diffuse, and sometimes with want of perspicuity. I am inclined also to accuse him of raising up difficulties, and of employing whole pages on what might be ascertained by one just and clear observation. I am satisfied with my diligence with respect to this work, which I have read in sixteen days, with much attention and reflection.

I finished the twenty-third volume of the *Bib-*

* T. Liv. V. 54.

† The navigation was only sixteen Roman miles.

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liothèque Raisonnée; which contains the second extract of Mr. Astruc's Natural History of Languedoc. In the article respecting manners, we find striking vestiges of Paganism still remaining in that province; I speak not of those general characters of superstition which are common to all men, because they are men; but of some practices so singular and arbitrary, that it is impossible to mistake the origin. How difficult is it to abolish the religion and language of a nation! The *Satires of Sectanus, with Cosellius's Answer:* a literary war, which dishonoured almost all the learned in Italy, without procuring much fame for their talents. Those of the Jesuit Sectanus were the most distinguished; but the names of his adversaries incline me to think that his cause was not good. *A Library of Manuscripts, by Father Montfaucon:* this work is learned and useful, but is not complete except as to France. It is almost necessary for every man of letters. *Orosius, by Mr. Havercamp:* a good edition, which was much wanted, of a very bad author, whose sole value arises from the loss of his fellow-labourers, who were far superior to himself.

Oct. 3.]—I looked into the fourth volume of Grævius Thesaurus, which contains several other treatises, besides Nardini's, on the antiquities of Rome. I began by reading the whole of the short but famous Dissertation of Isaac Vossius on the magnitude of that city. His paradoxes are well known. He assigns upwards of thirty miles for the circuit of Rome, independently of the suburbs;

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suburbs; and upwards of seventy miles when the suburbs are included. He fills that vast extent with more than fourteen millions of inhabitants;* and being as niggardly towards the moderns, as prodigal with respect to the ancients, he assures us that this number of subjects is not to be found in the three most flourishing kingdoms of Europe. These strange novelties could not fail to provoke the indignation of many adversaries, by whom they were ably and learnedly refuted. There are but two authorities for Vossius, and these merely fitted to dazzle and bewilder; a passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which he misconstrues, and a passage of Pliny, which he has corrupted. For the first, I would refer to Nardini, who proves clearly that when Dionysius compares the size of Rome with that of Athens, he does not include the harbour of the Piræus.† For the passage of Pliny, I would refer to the learned Freret, who explains it very naturally in connexion with the context.‡ I do not say that his hypothesis is without its difficulties; but of the two parts of a passage, when one is clear and another obscure, I say that the latter must be explained by the former, and not the reverse. I shall consider but one argument adduced by Vossius. It is ingenious, and ever since I first read it in the *Nouvelles de la Répub-*

* Vossius, p. 1514—1515. His calculations are, as usual, somewhat confused; but I give the result as stated by himself.

† Nardini Roma Vetus, l. i. c. vi. p. 912—916.

‡ Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, par Bayle; mois de Janvier, 1685.

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lique des Lettres, it has left on my mind a strong impression. The wood of Egeria, he says, was at the gates of Rome in the first ages of the republic; but in the age of Roman greatness, this wood was in the neighbourhood of Aricia, and fifteen miles from the *Forum*. It may be supposed, he adds, that in proportion as the city was enlarged, this wood was gradually cut down, so that it might still continue to keep its former situation with regard to the suburbs, and stand a little beyond the Porta Capena. The same thing happened as to the Clivus Virbius and the lake of Juturna, which are in the neighbourhood of Aricia now but were in the center of the city formerly.* This idea is doubtless ingenious; but many reasons convince me that it is false. It is founded entirely on hypothesis. All writers mention the Porta Capena, the wood of Egeria, and that of Aricia; but none suppose any connexion between them, or that the latter was merely a continuation of the former. Servius, indeed, and he alone, says that the nymph Egeria of the wood Aricia, was the same goddess with whom Numa was familiar.† But the identity of the goddess does not prove that of the sacred wood. I know that rural divinities were not the gods of whole nations, and that their worship was often confined to the district which had experienced their kindness; but I know also, that in the mythological, as well as in the natural world,

* Vossius de Rom. Magnitud. c. iv. p. 906, 907.

† *Nympha in Aricino nemore, quam amicam suam Numa esse fingebat.* Serv. ad Æneid. l. vii. v. 762.

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there is a perpetual chain of beings rising above each other by almost imperceptible degrees, from the lowly Dryad to Jupiter armed with the thunder. The Dryad, destitute of power, knowledge, and almost of sensation, existed in her native tree, from which she was scarcely distinguishable. But Egeria was of a higher order, and not inferior to Faunus, who frequently came from Arcadia to the territory of the Sabines;* so that though the ancient wood near to Aricia was her proper habitation, this needed not to hinder Numa from consecrating to her another, at the gates of Rome; or from persuading the people that she frequently honoured him there with her presence. It is a natural supposition that the whole country between Rome and Aricia was a continued forest, at each extremity of which there was a chapel consecrated to the Nymph; and that when the country was cleared, the trees were allowed to stand at both extremities from respect to Egeria. 2. The wood of Aricia is so far from being of a later date than the Porta Capena, that if we can have any dependence on the chronology of the fabulous ages, that wood was more ancient than the city of Rome. Hippolitus came into Italy 400 years before the birth of Romulus; and the former prince is connected with all the traditions which prevailed in the country about Aricia. The name Virbius indicated his new life; the nymph Egeria received him in her grotto, and tenderly compassionated his misfor-

* Horat. Carm. l. i. Ode xvii.

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tunes.* These traditions, I well know, are fables; but such fables are not the work of a day. They were piously believed by the whole district, in which they had taken deep root; the sacred wood, which was their scene, must have been more ancient than themselves; and though fictions, they destroy the still more improbable fiction of the consecration of the wood of Aricia in the age of Roman greatness, and the enlargement of the city, that is, in the time of Augustus, or, at least, of the latest consuls. 3. The supposition that sacred places changed their site, and retreated as it were before the greatness of Rome, is contrary to the spirit of all local superstitions. The Pagans revered a place honoured by the presence and miracles of a god, where he had displayed his power, and conferred his benefits; but they did not associate with their reverence for this place, a veneration for all the adjacent country, which had not any connexion with the divinity. Their worship was attached, as it were, to the soil, and the one could not be changed without abolishing the other. The temple of Jupiter Elicius, the Lupercal, the house of Romulus, always remained in their original sites. The arguments drawn from the gates is not conclusive. New walls necessarily require new gates, which naturally retain the names of those which they replace, and which are demolished as useless. 4. On what principle was it necessary to preserve

* Virgil. Æneid. vii. 761—781; et Serv. ad locum. Ovid. Metamorph. l. xv.

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the relative situation of the wood of Egeria with regard to the *Porta Capena?* In the time of Numa this gate was not in existence; since it belonged to the walls built around the city by Servius Tullius.* 5. Of the three examples given by Vossius, the wood of Egeria was without the Porta Capena, the lake of Juturna was in the Forum, and the Clivus Virbius was at the foot of Mount Esquiline. Had these monuments changed their sites, care would have been taken to preserve their relative situation with regard to each other. But a line drawn from the center of the Forum, and passing through each of those places, while it removed them from the city, must also have removed them from each other, instead of collecting them all into one spot in the neighbourhood of Aricia. 6. According to Vossius, the walls of Rome advanced to the 10th mile-stone on the Appian way. Yet Aricia was anciently, as it is at present, sixteen miles distant from the capital. All authors agree in this point; and the greater distance assigned by Strabo has been shewn to proceed from his measuring by a stadium shorter than the Olympic.† I foresee that it will be answered that since the miles were counted not from the gates of Rome, but from the golden pillar, Aricia might be sixteen miles from this pillar and the Forum, and no more than six miles from the

* Nardini Roma Vetus, l. i. c. iv. p. 902, 903, 904.

† Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 920; et sequent. Strabon. Geograph. lib. v. p. 165. Mesures Itinéraires de M. d'Anville, p. 15.

Porta

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Porta Capena. The answer indeed would be good, had the distance been reckoned by a maker of itineraries; but it is not supposable that a geographer like Strabo, or a poet like Lucan, would have said that Aricia was sixteen miles from Rome, had the suburbs filled up the intermediate space, without making that remark. The distances then were always reckoned from the mile-stone erected by Augustus. I would ask whether the Aqua Claudia rose in the city, although its source is said to have been at the sixth and the eighth mile-stone on the road to Prenesté? The system of Vossius requires the affirmative. Yet we find the source of this water at an estate *(Prædium)* belonging to Lucullus.* The walls of Rome therefore never extended to that distance. This observation, which bears against the whole of Vossius's system, appears to me decisive.

What a singular character was this Vossius! He had much reading, vivacity, and invention; but his understanding had a wrong bias; he was prone to exaggeration in his opinions, and incapable of resisting the temptation of a brilliant chimera. He was besides a very bad man. Some parts of his conduct betrayed a total want of probity.

Oct. 4th.]—I read a Dissertation by Octavio Falconieri, on the Pyramid of C. Cestius, p. 1461—1482. This monument, which stood at the Porta Ostiensis, and which is now fixed in the city wall,

* Sext. Frontin. de Aquæduct. Rom. l. i. p. 1635. iv. vol. Græ-vii Thesaurus.

is

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is entirely covered with a beautiful white marble. It is 165½ Roman palms high, and the sides of its base are each 130 palms long. There is a room in the middle of the pyramid twenty-six palms long, eighteen broad, and nineteen high. This is properly the sepulchre. The walls were covered with a multitude of figures, some of which still remain in a very good taste. It appears from the inscription of the monument and the explanations given of it by Falconieri, that Cestius was a man of distinction in the time of Augustus, and that the paintings relate to his employment of Epulo, or manager of the sacred festivals. None of the ancients make mention of this beautiful pyramid; a reflexion which creates regret for the loss of those monuments, whose beauty they highly celebrate. Falconieri's Dissertation is well written.

I read also a performance of Father Ciaconius on the *Columna Rostrata of Duillius*. Taking the whole inscription for original, I began to draw from it many important consequences. Happily I discovered that the original had suffered so much from the injuries of time, that it was rendered unintelligible, and that the critic had successfully restored it by his conjectures. I this day read p. 1809—1817.

Oct. 5th.]—Athough the Columna Rostrata disappointed me, I read to the end of the treatise. It contains some very ingenious restorations of the original, and excellent observations on the Latin orthography, which, as happens in all languages, gradually lost sight of etymology, and came to be regulated

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regulated by pronunciation. Unhappily the inscription on the pillar of Duillius has not the merit of originality. We see clearly by the example of Maximus, written with an *i*, that the old spelling had been altered for the new, which prevailed from the time of Julius Cæsar.

I finished Ciaconius's Dissertation, p. 1817—1831. I read also a small Treatise by Joseph Castalio, on the temples of Peace and Janus, p. 1849—1856. It is a poor performance.

Oct. 6th.]—I read a Dissertation of Peter Bargæus, *De Eversoribus Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ*, p. 1869—1892. By a common prejudice we consider the northern barbarians as equally hostile to the arts and to the Romans; ascribing the ruins of the finest monuments of the city to an Alaric, a Genseric, or a Totila. Bargæus regards this opinion as totally unfounded. Alaric scarcely exercised the rights of war. Genseric was satisfied with pillaging Rome. Totila destroyed part of the walls in his fury, and repaired them when he recovered his reason. The most of the public edifices were standing in the reign of Theodoric, who was more careful to preserve them than had been the last emperors of the east. The zeal of the Popes, and particularly of Gregory the Great, beheld nothing in a temple but the idol to whom it was consecrated: he established religion on the ruin of the fine arts. This account of the matter is explained by Bargæus with much learning and argument, and is far better than his attempt to justify this conduct in the Popes, which was surely more becoming the Alcoran

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Alcoran than the Gospel. Our notions are as false as unfavourable concerning the nations which over-ran the Roman empire in the fifth century. We look on them as savages just issued from the woods to break the boundaries which divided them from the civilised world. This opinion indeed may be applicable to the people of Scandinavia, to the Scythians, and the Arabs. The Arabs were actuated by enthusiasm; the Danes by vengeance; the Scythians by ferocity, common among wandering nations of shepherds. But the inhabitants of Germany, the Goths,* Vandals, and Franks, had devested themselves of much of their barbarism before they invaded the dominions of the Roman empire. For more than a century preceding that event, numerous bodies of their countrymen had served in the Roman armies. They learned the Latin language; they adopted civilised manners; and if they were not Christians, they at least revered Christianity. The contempt which they sometimes testified for the vanquished, was not mixed with hatred. The soldier was sometimes cruel, but the general was seldom barbarous, and the legislator never. I cast but a rapid glance on objects, which would deserve to be surveyed attentively.

I read also a Dissertation of the same author on the Obelisks in Rome, p. 1905—1934. It is learned; but if superfluities were lopped off, might be reduced to six pages.

* He decides not the famous question concerning the origin of the Goths.

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Oct. 7th.]—I began the work of Olaus Borrichius, *De Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, and read p. 1521—1546.

8th.]—I read Borrichius, p. 1546—1576. I finished the twenty-fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the History of the Heavens, by the Abbé Pluche. This author, who is a bad philosopher and a superficial scholar, builds ingenious systems, which dazzle but for a moment. He draws Egyptian etymologies from the Hebrew, because he supposes that the Hebrew had much affinity with the Phenician; and that the Phenician was not very remote from the Egyptian! The signs of the seasons and of agriculture are changed into gods. But I would ask whether it was possible that mankind should so much mistake those signs which returned annually, bringing with them their own explication. Such an extraordinary metamorphosis must have required at least many more ages than the Abbé Pluche would be willing to allow.—The History of Charles XII. by Mr. Aderfeld. The Alexander of the North had already his Quintus Curtius. He still wanted an Arrian. Mr. Aderfeld supplies the defect rather by his accuracy than his eloquence.—Lebanius's Letters, by Mr. Welf: a valuable present. We had only 250 of these letters. This learned man gives us 1600, recovered from the dust of all the libraries of Europe.—*Ammonius de Differentia Verborum, &c.* by Mr. Valkenaer: a small collection of some Greek grammarians, not without merit.—

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rit.—The History of King David: a learned, singular, and laughable performance.

Oct. 9th.]—I read Olaus Borrichius, *De Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, p. 1576—1600.

10th.]—I finished Olaus Borrichius, p. 1600—1623; and am much pleased with this little work. It is curious and learned. Borrichius examines the quarters of the city with order and perspicuity; and, regardless of minute objects, fixes on the principal monuments, which he explains in a very entertaining manner, and in an easy flow of style. His work must be useful to those who wish to form only a general, but just notion of ancient Rome; who are afraid of the large volumes of Donatus and Nardini, or who wish to digest methodically in their minds the knowledge which they have acquired from them. In one word, Borrichius is an excellent abridgment of Nardini, whom he closely follows. I could have wished this learned Dane had been satisfied with this merit, without aspiring to that of an original author; yet it must be allowed that he makes some curious observations, and corrects Nardini judiciously; of which the two following are examples. 1. He proves in a very satisfactory manner, that the emperors were never honoured with the title of Divus in their life-time, and consequently that all the monuments in which this title is found, must have been raised to them after their deaths. 2. He shows, in opposition to Nardini, that all the games of the goddess Flora were celebrated in her Circus; and that by mistaking a passage of Ovid, that antiquary has

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made two festivals of Flora out of one, which was held the last day of April, or the first of May. Borrichius was a Dane, and professor at Copenhagen. It appears from different passages of his book, that he travelled in Italy, France, and England towards the year 1665; and published this little treatise about twenty years after his return home. Without his telling us that he was a Dane, we should easily perceive it, from his manner of speaking concerning the triumph of Marius on Mount Esquiline. At beholding this monument of the defeat of the Cimbri, his patriotism is inflamed, a noble indignation seizes his soul. He ascribes the victory of the Romans to the sun, the winds, and fortune; to every cause rather than the valour of Marius.

Oct. 12th.]—An appearance of philosophy, with real ignorance; thoughts trivial or false; affectation of style; exaggeration or vulgarity of description; such is the new work intituled Amusements of Reason, which was lent to me by Mr. C***; and in which I find neither reason nor amusement. The author's preface to his translation of the "Wise Man's Recreations," is impertinent in the extreme. Of what use is it to know an author's name? What has that name to do with his work? A great deal with his design, his allusions, &c. but nothing with the sentence that we ought to pass on his philosophical opinions.

13th.]—I this day began a very considerable task; which was to read Cluverius' Italia Antiqua, in two volumes in folio: Leyden, 1624, Elzevirs. The

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The author did not live to see its publication; but had completely finished it before his death. His editor tells us that he had in contemplation to write an universal geography on the same plan; and that after describing Germany, Italy, and Sicily, he meant to treat of Gaul, Greece, and all the other countries known to the ancients. Strabo comprehended the same subject in seventeen books; of which the countries described by Cluverius, in four volumes in folio, occupy nearly three. The whole design of that learned man would have extended to twenty-three volumes in folio. Had he lived a few years longer, he would perhaps have executed this vast undertaking. We should then have had an immense repertory on the subject of ancient geography, treated indeed with a degree of circumstantial minuteness, which no other countries perhaps deserve but Greece and Italy. A man of letters is desirous to know every corner of those celebrated countries, the smallest villages of which are distinguished in history or poetry. I begin to read Cluverius with the same views that I read Nardini, both to prepare me for my journey into Italy, and to assist me in my future studies. These two authors, studied with care and reflexion, will serve me as a perpetual commentary; so that I shall not be a stranger in any part of Rome or Italy, to which my inquiries may lead me. I this day read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, p. 1—46. These six chapters are preparatory to his particular description. He examines in them the different names of Italy, its limits,

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extent, figure, Mount Apennine, which divides the country; its soil, climate, inhabitants, and languages. He every where cites his authorities in their own words, and speaks only occasionally himself, to reconcile, explain, or correct them. Mr. D'Anville accuses him too hastily of confounding the Roman mile with that of the modern Italians.* Cluverius does not confound them; he knew that of modern Italy to be the longest of the two, and has explained himself very clearly on that subject.† This knowledge indeed was not of much use to him, since he was ignorant of the exact proportion which the one mile bore to the other.

Oct. 14.]—I read Cluverius, l. i. c. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. p. 46—90. He travels along the coast of Liguria from the Varus, which separated that district from Gaul, to the Macra, by which it was bounded on the side of Tuscany. This coast is rocky and barren; and, by denying all other advantages to its inhabitants, tended to increase their strength and courage. It is extraordinary that this enterprising people should never have thought of crossing the Apennines, in order to settle in the beautiful plain which lies between those mountains and the Po: and that they should have finally been indebted for this acquisition to a political arrangement of the Romans. I was amused by the article Pollentia. There Stilico fought the army of the Goths. The Christian writers repre-

* D'Anville, Mesures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8.
† Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. iii. p. 25.

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sent this transaction as a scandalous piece of unsuccessful treachery, from which nothing but shame accrued to the Romans. Claudian, on the contrary, a Pagan poet, considers Stilico's battle as equal to Marius's victory over the Cimbri, and extols the conqueror as a hero who avenged the cause of his country, and delivered all Italy from the tyranny of barbarians.

Oct. 16th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xii, xiii, xiv. p. 90—102. He sets before us the policy of Augustus, who in all his transactions preferred slow and gentle measures. Julius Cæsar had subdued the Gauls, but his conquest was precarious while the Alps were peopled by fierce nations, who commanded all the passes. Augustus was under the necessity of reducing some of them by arms; but he persuaded Cottius, who reigned over the mountains which bore his name, to civilize his subjects, to receive a Roman garrison, and to open the roads through his country. It would be curious to know the circumstances of the negociation. I imagine that Augustus so much flattered Cottius with empty honours, as to make him forget that he was surrendering his independence and power. This at least would have been in the usual style of his policy.

17th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xv, xvi, xvii, p. 102—133. The article of the Rhæti and the Euganei is somewhat puzzling. Verona was a Rhætian colony. The thing is possible; but for a long time its inhabitants, assuming the character of Gauls, considered Brixia as their mo-

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ther country. Verona would have been placed more naturally among the Cenomani; and the Rhæti ought to have been confined to their native mountains, as they were in fact. In treating of these mountains as connected with Italy, I would also have taken notice that my observations related to only one portion of the Rhætians. This remark would have contributed to the perspicuity of the whole of the description.

Oct. 18th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xviii. p. 133—169. The author conducts us through the province called Venetia. He dwells on Padua, and its famous fountain Apona. In speaking of the Portus Venetus, near to Altinum, where Venice now stands, he treats at considerable length of the æra of its foundation, from which he cuts off a century with much probability; since in the time of Theodoric and Cassiodorus, the Venetian isles contained nothing but huts of fishermen. The people on the neighbouring coast of Italy sought refuge there, rather against the fury of the Lombards, than against that of the Huns. The community which these emigrants established, must have long continued weak and dependant, an object of pity or contempt to neighbouring princes, especially to conquerors. Without pretending to have deeply examined the subject, I am convinced that the liberty of Venice ought to be dated from the downfal of the empire of the Franks. This empire, we may observe, contributed far more than the Crusades to make the Orientals extend the name of Franks or Frenchmen

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men to all the nations of the West. It is not surprising that the Mahommedans should be so ignorant of the distinctions among the nations of Europe, when a Greek emperor* gives the name of France to the province of Venetia, which Charlemagne conquered with the rest of Lombardy. In using this name, the emperor's mistake is still more glaring; since he is guilty of an anachronism of three centuries. Cluverius indeed gives a different interpretation to Constantine's words; but the above meaning appears to me to be the most natural.

Oct. 19th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xix, xx. p. 169—204. He treats of the Carni. Augustus assigned this people to *Venetia*, and contracted the boundary of Italy within the river *Arsia*. He speaks at length of Aquileia, the first city in the province, and the ninth in the whole empire. Its fortifications, built after the fashion of the ancients, and its natural strength, enabled it to cover the frontier of Italy most exposed to invasion from the Illyrians. Its intermediate situation between polished and barbarous nations, became the source of opulence, acquired by its commerce with both. If traffic consisted merely in the mutual exchange of commodities, an industrious nation ought to wish for neighbours as industrious as itself. This principle of my friend Mr. Mirabeau appears to me incontrovertible. He who

* Constantine Porphyrogenitus. V. Cluver. Italia Antiqua, l. i. c. xviii. p. 138.

wishes

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wishes to sell his goods, seeks for those who need, and can purchase them. Such purchasers are only to be found in rich and industrious countries. But this mutual exchange is only one part of an extensive and enterprising commerce. Another, still more profitable, is carried on by bold and adventurous, but judicious mariners, who sail in quest of the productions of foreign countries, to carry them to the nations to whom they are objects of desire: and when countries have emerged from that state of barbarism which renders them totally inaccessible to strangers, the more ignorant their inhabitants are, the profit of trading with them will be the greater; because their articles of exportation will be sold far below their real value, and in that rude state of nature, which will leave the whole advantage of manufacturing them to their purchasers. Aquileia was placed in most favourable circumstances for carrying on traffic with barbarians. 1. This trade was secured not merely by unjust and precarious treaties, but by the laws of nature, and local situation. It was carried on by land across the Julian Alps, the passage through which was naturally commanded by Aquileia. Padua and Milan would have had great disadvantage in the competition. Maritime commerce is quite different, the sea being always open to those who have industry and boldness. 2. This trade was easy. The merchandize was conveyed on waggons to Nauportus, distant from Aquileia only fifty miles; and the passage by Mount Albius was the easiest in the Alps. It was then transported by

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by navigable rivers from Nauportus to the Danube. 3. The merchants of Aquileia must have been great gainers by dealing in slaves, whom they purchased at a cheap rate. They had cost nothing but blood to their barbarous masters; to keep them in whose hands would have been not only useless, but expensive and dangerous. But they were valuable articles of trade with polished nations. Italy alone demanded a constant and large supply, for the purposes of domestic service, the shows, and agriculture. Slaves who had only bodily strength were sure of selling well; but when they shewed any disposition for the arts and sciences, their new masters were careful to cultivate it; and then sold at a high price that mind and ingenuity which they had not purchased. That principle of improvement, which has place only in man, became a gainful object of commerce. The slave trade, it may be remarked, can be supported only by barbarians; for civilized nations purchase slaves, but do not produce them. 4. The merchants of Aquileia bought slaves with wine and oil, the produce of their country; so that both the exports and imports were much in their favour.

Oct. 20.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxi, xxii, xxiii, p. 204—337. After speaking of Istria, where the Greek fables vainly placed the mouth of the Danube, he returns backwards to examine Cisalpine Gaul. He begins by giving a general notion of the country, and the colonies which went from Celtic Gaul. The first particulars which he mentions relate to the Lævi and Libici, who inhabited

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habited the frontiers of Piedmont and the Milanese, and who depended on the powerful nation of the Insubres.

I went to the public library, of which my friend Pavillard had given me the key, to consult some books. 1. A Dissertation, by Mr. Freret, treating of the famous passage in Pliny concerning the circuit of Rome. I read and abridged his explanation, with a view to Nardini. 2. The Gauls, whom I just mentioned, made me curious to know the fate of the other colony, which penetrated at the same time into Germany. For this purpose, I consulted Cluverius's Germania Antiqua. 3. I also consulted Pitiscus's Dictionary of Antiquities, for clearing up some difficulties in Juvenal. The articles Abella, Mandra, Bardaicus, Lectica, Carpentum, Rheda, Essedum, and Cisium, furnished me with agreeable occupation. That of Lectica is particularly well treated.

I finished the twenty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* I had not neglected that work, but was obliged to wait for the continuation. It contains *Quintilian, by Gesner:* a good edition of an excellent author.—*The Voyage of the Legate Mezzabarba to China, by Father Viani.* It treats of the idle controversy respecting the Chinese ceremonies. It appears from the narrative that the emperor had diverted himself at the expense of the good legate, and with the intrigues of the Jesuits, whom he despised as missionaries, though he esteemed them as men of letters.—*Strictura Juris Romani, a Jensio.* This writer alleges strong argu-

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arguments for proving that Justinian's Code was written in Greek, and that the Latin text, which has come down to us, is only a translation.—*Anti Machiavel.* Reinsberg and Potsdam inspire very different ideas; the one produced the Anti Machiavel, and the other, the Military Instructions. When the king of Prussia composed a work on justice and clemency, it was fit that Voltaire should be at the expense of publishing it.—The History of Denmark, by Cragius; first Extract. It contains only the author's life, who flourished towards the sixteenth century.—*Corpus Juris Germanici:* a work published under the eyes of Heineccius, containing a collection of the laws of the ancient nations of Germany, equally interesting to the philosopher and the lawyer. Mr. Heineccius, in a learned preface, proves clearly, that the Franks made the famous Salic laws, when they were yet Pagans, and still remained in Franconia, a little before the election of their first king; in one word, towards the year 400; and that they wrote them in Latin, as they still remain, except that the first Christian kings made some alterations.

Oct. 21.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii. He treats of the Insubres, Orobii, Cenomani, Ananes, or Animani. The difference of names does not always infer that of nations; and this last difference is often grounded on political rather than physical reasons; for of the nine Gallic nations established in Italy, the names of four only are to be found in their native country; and the Boii, scarcely known in Gaul, formed both in

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in Germany and in Italy the most numerous and formidable of all the Gallic colonies. I reckoned the Insubres among the Gauls, on the authority of all the ancients; but was surprised to see Mr. Freret classing them with the Ombri. Polybius indeed calls them Isombri, which in Celtic signifies the Lower Ombri.* But Polybius acknowledges them for Gauls;† and even did he maintain the contrary, his authority, great as it is, ought not to prevail over the united testimony of antiquity. Accuracy and probity shine in his writings. He was a soldier, a statesman, and a philosopher: but I doubt whether he was a good grammarian, or a profound antiquary.

Oct. 22.]—Before returning Nardini, which was wanted for the public library of Geneva, I this morning again went over it carefully, endeavouring to impress its principal contents on my memory. Human infirmity always loses a part; but I see with pleasure that much remains, and will continue to remain with me.

I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxviii, xxix. p. 271—316. This was a good deal, considering that I spent the day abroad, and had only the evening, before and after supper, for study. These two chapters comprise the rest of Cispadane Gaul. The Boii, Lingones, and Senones, inhabited the duchies of Parma and Modena, of Ferrara, and Ur-

* See The Origin of the Nations of Italy, in the eighteenth volume of the History of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

† Polybius, l. ii. apud Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxii. p. 228, 229.

bino;

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bino; as well as the particular districts of the Romagna and Bolognese. The Gauls therefore extended to the river Æsis, which separated them from Italy. But speedily the Romans expelled the Senones, and added their country to Umbria, establishing the Rubicon for the boundary of Italy. As they were persuaded that the Gallic nations on their side of the Po could always be formidable neighbours, they compelled the Boii to quit their country. They new-modelled, in fine, the whole province, which they filled with Roman fortresses; a necessary but ruinous policy, which, in order to preserve the dominion of countries, rendered them desolate; for a few cities, built and peopled by the conquerors, ill compensated for the loss of the numerous tribes of barbarians formerly inhabiting the plains, forests, and mountains. This province was crossed by the Emilian road from Pollentia to Ariminum, which on both sides shewed many flourishing towns. But at a little distance from the road nothing was to be seen but deserts: the rest was the work of artifice and ostentation. In the latter times of the republic, the Transpadane region was the scene of many important transactions. 1. The war of Modena, between Mark Antony and the Consuls. 2. The interview of the Triumvirs in the little island of Renus, near Bologna. 3. The passage of the Rubicon by Julius Cæsar. The events and places are well ascertained by Cluverius. The passage of the Rubicon might be the subject of a good political and military commentary. Cæsar had always fixed his winter quarters at

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at Lucca, when he wished only to communicate more easily with his friends at Rome, without leaving his province. But at the approach of war, he established his quarters at Ravenna. Let us endeavour to explain his motives for this alteration. 1. He wished to get possession of Picenum, a rich and populous country, and thus deprive Pompey of the resources which he might have found in a province extremely devoted to his family, and from which that general might have made legions spring up merely by striking the ground with his foot. 2. He wished to turn the capital with his army. Had he attempted to march straight to Rome, Pompey would have made himself master of the difficult passes, and stopped his progress; and Italy would have become the theatre of war. But by marching towards Ariminum, Asculum, Corfinium, and Sulma, he made it seem to be his design to cut off the retreat of his enemies; and his boldness threw them into such consternation, that they hastened to embark at Brundusium. 3. He wished to make sure of Ariminum. This important place was distant from the Rubicon eighteen miles by the Emilian road, and only eleven by that of Ravenna. Cæsar could send forward bodies of troops to the river under twenty different pretences, but the moment he passed it, his designs were unmasked. Ariminum, therefore, was to be surprised by a forced march; and it is not necessary to be Cæsar, to perceive how much that enterprise might be facilitated by diminishing the distance by seven miles, or a march of two hours.

Oct.

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Oct. 23d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxx, xxxi, xxxii, p. 316—355; which contains a general description of the Alps, as well as of their particular branches, distinguished by the epithets Maritime, Cottian, Greek, Pennine, Rhetian, Tridentine, Noric, Carnic, Julian, Pannonian; and also a description of some particular mountains, as Vesulus, Matrona, Adula, and Ocra.

I read the sixteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *the Orations of Lysias, by Doctor Taylor:* a good and beautiful edition of a languid orator. The oration, which is inserted entire, gives a very accurate idea of the economy of an Athenian family.—*The History of French Poetry, by the Abbé Massieu.* The work is imperfect; but it sufficiently indicates the taste and amenity of its author. He speaks of the verses of the Emperor Adrian to his soul, and of those made by the Princess Margaret before her shipwreck; but those of Villon, after his condemnation to an infamous death, are still more extraordinary.—*The Theology of Water, by Mr. Fabricius:* a good philosophical composition.—*Cortesi's Dialogues on the learned Men of Italy, after the Revival of Letters.* Cortesi had talents; but he is liable to all the ridicule of a hyperbolical Ciceronian.—*Letters on Rousseau and Saurin.* These letters are unconnected: the first is by the Abbé d'Olivet; the second by an anonymous writer of Lausanne. This writer only attacks Saurin; but the Abbé undertakes to defend Rousseau. To how many pleadings has this endless process given birth!—

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History of Denmark, by Cragius; second Extract. Meursius much availed himself of Cragius's manuscript.

Oct. 24th.]—I finished the first book of Cluverius, c. xxxiii, xxxiv. p. 355—418. He treats of the passages of the Alps, and of the first who crossed them; Hercules, the Gauls, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Pompey. The discussion concerning Hannibal's march, and the road which he followed into Italy, is learned and curious. The following is the result of my reading and careful reflexion on the subject. 1. By heaping together passages, and collecting all the authorities furnished by antiquity and the middle ages, it is easy to conceal our real poverty under the ostentation of riches; but when these authorities are weighed in the balance of sound criticism, we shall find but two authors deserving the name of originals, who have been servilely copied by all their followers. These two are Livy and Polybius. Did their accounts correspond, nothing would remain but to study and follow them; but unfortunately their sentiments are so different, that this is impossible, and we must make an option. Livy carries Hannibal over the Cottian Alps, properly Mount Genevre, near Turin, and makes him descend by this passage into the country of the Taurini, now the plain of Piedmont. Polybius leads him by the *Summus Penninus*, or Great St. Bernard, in the country of the Salassi, now the valley of Aoust. 2. To decide judiciously between these opposite authorities, we must weigh the character of the witnesses,

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witnesses, and consider the nature of their testimony. Nobody admires more than I do, the historical merit of Livy, the majestic flow of his narrative; in which events follow each other with rapidity, yet without hurry or confusion; and the continual beauty and energy of his style, which transports his readers from their closets to the scene of action. But here we have to do, not with the orator, but with the witness. Considered in this view, Livy appears merely as a man of letters covered with the dust of his library, little acquainted with the art of war, careless in point of geography, and who lived two centuries after Hannibal's expedition. In the whole of his recital, we may perceive rather a romantic picture, calculated to please the fancy, than a faithful and judicious history, capable of satisfying the understanding. The god who appeared to the Carthaginian general,* the mountains accessible to him alone, the vinegar with which he split the rocks,† are fables which Livy relates without criticism as without suspicion. We seem to read Homer describing the exploits of Achilles. In Polybius, on the other hand, we meet with nothing but unadorned simplicity and plain reason. A justness of thinking rare in his age and country, united with a sterility of fancy still more rare, made him prefer the truth, which he thoroughly knew, to ornaments which he was perhaps the more inclined to despise, because he felt himself incapable of at-

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 22. † Id. ibid. 37.

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taining them. He had examined, attentively and skilfully, with his own eyes, the country between the Po and the Ebro: where he might collect the precious remains of tradition which the period of sixty years had not been able to efface; and where he might converse with some of the old men of the country, who had in their youth either resisted Hannibal's invasion, or followed his standard. His journey to those parts was undertaken with the express purpose of gaining information in the country itself, and of substituting, instead of the fables which already overflowed the public, a plain and authentic history of this famous expedition of the Carthaginians.* The work which has come down to us, is the fruit of this design. To finish the parallel, I must add that Livy's narrative cannot be reconciled with itself any more than with that of Polybius. His obscurities and contradictions baffle the ablest geographers;† whereas the account of Polybius is clear and well connected. The valley, being divided by the Rhone, ascertains the country through which Hannibal made his approach to the Alps; from which he emerged into the territory of the Insubres.‡ Both these circumstances clearly indicate the passage of the Great St. Bernard. 3. Livy, in the Augustan age, could not describe the events of the second Punic war but from ancient authorities. A passage in

* Polyb. Hist. l. iii. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxxiii. p. 363.

† Cluver. l. i. c. xxxiii. p. 370—375.

‡ Polyb. Hist. l. iii. Cluver. l. i. p. 365.

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this historian informs us who was his voucher for the particulars of Hannibal's march. It was Hannibal himself. Is not this authority better than that of Polybius? or rather, what can be said in opposition to the testimony of a general giving an account of the country through which he passed? This interesting circumstance deserves to be explained, and the explanation, curious in itself, will throw much light on the whole question. L. Cintius Alimintus, one of the most ancient annalists of the republic, was taken prisoner in the second Punic war. His captivity gave him an opportunity of one night hearing the conversation of Hannibal, in which that general confessed, that from the time when he passed the Rhone, to that of his entering the country of the Taurini in Italy, he had lost 36,000 men, and a great number of horses.* This conversation, which was preserved by Cintius in his history, was sufficient to turn the balance, and to make Livy reject the received account, which brought Hannibal into Italy by the country of the Salassi, and not that of the Taurini. The following are the words of the original: *Ex ipso autem audiisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum, et aliorum jumentorum amisisse in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens est, in Italiam digresso.* Before examining whether this conversation be as decisive as it at first sight appears, it may be asked whether it actually took place. Va-

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 38.

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nity is so strong a principle, and the notion of deriving our intelligence from the mouth of a hero, and an enemy, is so flattering to the mind, that this Hannibal perhaps was no other than some very ill-informed soldier belonging to the Carthaginian camp. I acknowledge, however, that bare possibility is not sufficient to justify this suspicion, unless we could support it by proofs which are now wanting, namely, the personal character of Cintius, the opinion formed by contemporaries of his history, and the time of its publication before or after Hannibal's death. I give up therefore this conjecture; and, taking the conversation for authentic, shall make some remarks on its purport. 1. Is it possible without temerity to reject the authority of Hannibal for that of Polybius? A geographer studies countries in the names or arbitrary signs by which they are known. A general studies the countries themselves. He ascends an eminence to learn the general outline, and mounts on horseback to examine the detail; conversing with the inhabitants to discover circumstances which would otherwise escape his observation. Having acquired this real knowledge of the places themselves, he is careless of the names by which they are called. These names are easily effaced from his memory, especially in barbarous countries, where their number is small. His multiplied occupations rapidly succeed to each other; and his old ideas are gradually obliterated to make room for others which are more important, because more connected with the actual state of his affairs. In what

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what a perpetual storm did Hannibal live after passing the Alps till he won the battle of Cannæ? Cintius, I am persuaded, was not taken prisoner before that memorable engagement; previously to which Hannibal was too much exasperated against the Romans to talk familiarly with his captives.* May it not therefore be suspected that at the end of two years he had lost an accurate recollection of those barbarous names? In the famous retreat of the 10,000, the general has recorded his own exploits. His narrative, however, is not exempt from errors and geographical difficulties. The negligence of Xenophon in an elaborate composition, will remove our surprise at that of Hannibal in a simple conversation. 2. These doubts appear to me well founded; yet I perceive that they have the appearance of too much refinement, and that the great name of Hannibal will be sufficient to make them vanish. Let us give full credit, then, to his accuracy, and only inquire whether the same be due to his sincerity. According to the barbarous maxims of antiquity, a prisoner of war was treated as a criminal. He was loaded with irons, cast into a dungeon, delivered over sometimes to the cruelty of an executioner, without the smallest regard to his rank, birth, or merit. In this pretended conversation, Hannibal lays aside ordinary maxims, and talks with a Roman prisoner with not only mildness, but confidence. Cintius could not have had this interview with Hannibal, unless the

* Tit. Liv. xxii. 58.

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Carthaginian had taken the trouble to bring it about; and with what view could that be, except to deceive him? Perhaps this general, who excelled as much in artifice as in valour, wished to conceal from the Romans the road by which he had entered into Italy, and to cover the march of the reinforcements which he yet expected. The Romans had never fought among the Alps, the ferocity of whose inhabitants had involved them in such obscurity, that Hannibal might make the prisoner believe what fables he pleased concerning the countries which he had traversed. 3. A way of arguing still more natural and milder remains, which is to explain Hannibal's conversation, instead of calling in question either its reality or sincerity. He wished to give an idea of the losses which he had sustained in passing the mountains, in consequence of battles, cold, and fatigue. He begins therefore from his crossing the Rhone, and ends at his arrival in the territory of the Taurini; since it was really in their country, and by taking their capital, that he began his operations in Italy.* Their territory, therefore, formed the limit between two things totally distinct; his losses in Italy and those in the Alps. It was not necessary that the country of the Taurini should be the first place of Italy into which he descended from the Alps; it sufficed that it was the first where he fought a battle. The former explication is adopted by Livy, but the latter appears to me very capable of

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 39. Polyb. Hist. l. iii.

being

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being defended. It deprives the Latin historian of what appears to him a decisive proof. It even turns this alleged proof against himself, by laying open the source of his mistake. The argument on which Livy builds, is not only refuted, but destroyed; and the authority of Polybius subsists alone and unrivalled. I confess indeed that the sense of this famous passage is rather guessed at, than explained; so perplexed, defective, and faulty is its construction. Critics have endeavoured to correct it; but it should seem more natural to say that Livy copied Cintius, and that the latter had preserved the very words of the Carthaginian general, who spoke Latin like a foreigner. 4. In our search after historic truth, we must pay a regard to authority and probability: to the character of the author, and to the nature of the facts which he records. Although the first is entirely on the side of Polybius, yet the second offers some circumstances which it is difficult to explain on his hypothesis, and which appear even contrary to probability. 1. When we cast our eyes on the map, we must be surprised that a general of Hannibal's abilities should have followed so circuitous a road as that of St. Bernard, which was long, difficult, and surrounded by barbarians, who were rather Germans than Gauls. It is of no weight to say, that he wished to keep clear of the sea, and of the army of Scipio. The observation is just; but to see whether it applies to the present question, we must make ourselves acquainted with Hannibal's situation and views. After he had passed the Rhone, his Numidians met

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met with a little check from Scipio's cavalry. The Romans wished to come to a general engagement, which Hannibal desired to avoid, being convinced that they were only to be subdued in Italy itself. He therefore silently raised his camp, gained a march of three days on the enemy, and on the fourth day arrived, without being pursued, at the conflux of the Rhone and the Isere.* The Romans could not overtake him. The loss of three days is not to be recovered in contending with a general, active and vigilant; and who, by the superiority of his light-armed cavalry, was able to conceal his own movements, and to make himself acquainted with those of the enemy. Hannibal was not therefore afraid of being pursued; he soon learned that such fear would have been groundless; that Scipio's army continued its march into Spain; and that the consul himself returned into Italy, to take the command of the army on the banks of the Po. Hannibal being delivered from all uneasiness on this subject, made a halt in the country of the Allobroges, decided a contest between the heirs of the crown, and prepared his troops for the fatigues which they were going to undertake. In choosing his route into Italy, he could be determined by no other consideration but that of preferring the shortest and the most convenient. But the passage by St. Bernard is certainly not the shortest. 2. Neither is it the most convenient. In the reign of

* Strabon. Geog. l. iv. p. 141. Berger Histoire des Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 31. p. 471.

Augustus,

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Augustus, when Roman policy had levelled the Alps, that prince made two military ways, which, diverging from Augusta Prætoria, again united at Lyons. One of those roads, which crossed the Pennine Alps, was still so difficult that it could not be passed by carriages.* When we consider how much more difficult it must have been in the time of Hannibal, it is not credible that that general should have been either willing, or able, to cross it with his great numbers of horses and elephants. 3. Hannibal consumed fifteen days in passing the Alps, from which four days must be deducted, two of which were spent on the top of the mountains, and two employed in clearing the road from the snow. The breadth of the Alps, according to Polybius, is 1200 stadia (150 Roman miles†). This calculation agrees with the geography of the country; but is the march consistent with probability? Is it possible for a numerous army to proceed fourteen miles a-day, across mountains where the soldiers were obliged continually to struggle against the difficulties of the road, and often to repel the attacks of the mountaineers? I have great respect for Polybius's authority, but cannot help doubting the fact. These are some of the difficulties which occur in his narrative, and which are not to be despised. 4. Our researches have brought us back to our first uncertainty, how are we to form an

* The passage by the Pennine Alps was, however, the shortest; here the mountains are much narrowed.

† Polyb. l. iii. Cluveri. c. 33. p. 382.

opinion?

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opinion? Polybius's narrative has all the external evidence that can be desired; but that of his rival seems more consistent with other circumstances that are well ascertained. One reflexion may suffice to regulate our decision. It is more probable that *we* should be deceived, than that the above circumstances should have escaped the notice of Polybius. These circumstances are indeed important; but they are not decisive. The first and most considerable depends on many suppositions; that the text both of Livy and Polybius is corrupt; that instead of the unknown word *Scaras*, and of *Arar*, which is misplaced, we should read on both occasions *Isara*. I acknowledge that this correction is extremely probable, but probabilities which result from other probabilities, continually grow weaker as they recede from their source. If I suppose on my side; 1. that the Allobroges then occupied a part of the territory of the Ambarri; 2. that the word *triduo* in Livy is corrupt; 3. that Hannibal passed the Rhone higher than is supposed, the first objection totally disappears. Hannibal, at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône, followed the shortest route into Italy, when he crossed the Great St. Bernard. Let us conclude then, though with some remainder of scepticism, that though Livy's narrative has more of probability, yet that of Polybius has more of truth.* There is

* I have copied nothing from Cluverius, except his general conclusion, very differently modified. I have cited but few authorities. The only important citations, which supersede all others, are the twenty-first book of Livy, the third book of Polybius, and the thirty-third chapter of the first book of Cluverius.

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one perplexing consideration behind. In Mr. D'Anville's map of Hannibal's expedition, that accurate geographer, whose positions are always chosen on reflexion, makes the Carthaginians pass by the Cottian Alps. I am stopped and silenced by the authority of this learned man, which in this case is the greater, because he conceals the reasons on which his opinion is founded.*

Oct. 25th.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. i. p.* 418—433. The author treats of the name and origin of the Tuscans. He rejects, with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, their pretended Lydian descent, and believes with that historian that they were indigenes. But as Cluverius was a good Christian, what idea could he affix to that word? There is, however, one, which I doubt whether he was sensible of: it is that of a nation formed by the re-union of different families, settled in the country at different times, and independently of each other. The nation and body politic is indigenous, but not the individuals.

I finished the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, volume the twenty-seventh. It contains the *Jubilee of Printing, by Mr. Seiz.* He supports the pretensions of Haarlem, and endeavours to prove that Laurence

* Since these observations were written, viz. Oct. 1763, Mr. Whitaker published the Course of Hannibal over the Alps, in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1794; but in 1795, A. F. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, a Lord of Sessions, published a Critical Examination of Mr. Whitaker's Course of Hannibal, which is deservedly deemed more satisfactory than any thing that has been published on the subject. Perhaps it was best understood by the late General Melville. S.

Costar,

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Costar, a citizen of that place, discovered in 1440 that beautiful art, which the dishonesty of his servant Faustus carried with him to Mentz. The narrative appears clear, well connected, and free from difficulties; yet if printing was invented at Haarlem, it appears extraordinary that all the countries of Europe should have received it, or believe they received it, from Mentz. Could so many daughters agree in mistaking their mother? I am not ignorant of Corselis's voyage to England; but after Dr. Middleton's refutation, it is no longer allowable to cite that fable.—*A Collection of some small Works on the Pronunciation of Greek, by Mr. Havercamp.* In this famous dispute, Erasmus, with his ordinary prudence, used the ancient pronunciation, though he seemed to approve the new. When we consider the storms excited by this ridiculous question in the beginning of the sixteenth century, particularly at Cambridge, his caution will not appear blamable.—*Arretin's Letters.* The beginning of a great collection of letters between the learned men of the fifteenth century, which is publishing in Italy. It may be useful in literary history.—*The History of Denmark, by Cragius.* It appears to me well executed. We see in it the beginning of the reformation in that country, and the dishonesty of Henry VIII. of England.—*The Czar Peter I. in France:* a philosophical romance, the work of a lively and fruitful imagination, but destitute of taste or method. Such works dazzle for a moment, and are forgotten.

Oct. 26th.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. i. p.*

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i. p. 434—455. The arts, the luxury, and the riches of the Tuscans, are matter of astonishment. I can scarcely believe with Cluverius, that Cisalpine Gaul was the original seat of that nation. It appears to me on the contrary from ancient writers, that the Tuscans, from the remotest times, inhabited Etruria, properly so called, and sent forth two great colonies, each of which was like the mother-country, divided into twelve communities: one of which colonies expelled the *Ombri* from the whole of that tract which lies between the Alps and the Apennines; while the other formed settlements in Campania. It might have been said in that age, almost without exaggeration, that the Tuscans were masters of Italy. The first of those colonies was subdued by the Gauls, eight centuries before the Christian æra, when it was already rich and powerful, but softened by luxury. The mother-country exhibited the same character in still stronger colours. It verged towards its ruin. How many ages must have been required for this slow, but sure progression, by which nations proceed from barbarism to industry, arts, luxury, and effeminacy? We cannot doubt the fact; the Tuscans are certainly one of the most ancient nations with which we are acquainted.

Oct. 27th.]—I read Cluverius, l. ii. c. ii, iii. p. 455—518. He describes with much accuracy the coast of Tuscany, with the opposite islands, from Luna to the mouth of the Tiber. We meet every where with Greek fables. With respect to the greatest part of Greek writers before Polybius, space may be divided, as Varro divided time, into the

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the historical, fabulous, and unknown. The historical ground was confined to Greece, Sicily, Africa, Egypt, and Lower Asia. In the fabulous, I would place Italy, with the countries between Greece and the Danube, and those between the Caspian sea and the Euphrates. The countries beyond those limits were altogether unknown. Homer might have satisfied the lovers of the marvellous; yet his fables form but the smallest and most probable part of the Greek mythology.

Oct. 28th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. iii. p. 518—537. The author treats of Tarquinii and Veii, the two cities of Tuscany that were nearest to Rome. Tarquinii was celebrated for the science of augury, to which it had given birth. The origin of this deceitful art need not be sought elsewhere: it began in Tuscany. The ridiculous fable concerning Tages, teaches us that he was a native of the country: his success in contriving such an extraordinary system, and in making it be adopted by his countrymen, proves him to have been a man of genius. Tages sprung from a furrow; he was not a foreigner. The Chaldean fish Oannes sprung from the sea; this symbolic language explains itself.

The ancients themselves found it difficult to ascertain the situation of Veii. In the time of Lucan, this famous city had already been destroyed; and the ruins of a place which had been as large as Rome could scarcely be discovered. Its site could only be known by its distance from the capital; but with respect to this distance, authors are not agreed. Their opinions may be reduced to the

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the two following: 1. Livy, speaking of the siege of Veii, says, that it was carried on within the twentieth mile-stone.* Eutropius tells us that Veii was eighteen miles distant from Rome. 2. The Roman itineraries make the distance twelve miles;† and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half.‡ There are two ways of reconciling those opinions. 1. Faleria, as well as Veii, was situate on an eminence. The former was destroyed by the Romans, and a town of the same name rebuilt on the plain. If a similar change took place with respect to Veii, Dionysius of Halicarnassus would only be guilty of the small mistake of supposing Veii to have always had the same site. I am well pleased with this explanation. The interval of eighteen miles answers better than that of twelve, considering the many wars carried on within those narrow limits, between the two rival republics. 2. All differences may be reconciled by giving up the authority of Eutropius, one of the most contemptible authors that ever wrote. The Romans had surrounded Veii with walls and intrenchments. Not satisfied with fortifying themselves on the side of the city, they had also raised bulwarks to intercept the succours that might be sent to the besieged, from the other cities of Tuscany.§ Veii was therefore twelve miles and a half from Rome, since the diameter of a city as extensive as Athens must

* Tit. Liv. l. iv.
† V. Tabul. Pentinger.
‡ Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii.
§ Tit. Liv. l. v.

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have been two miles and a half. If the most advanced forts on the side of Etruria were four miles beyond the city, we have the distance of nineteen miles, which sufficiently justifies the expression of Appius Claudius.

Oct. 29th.]—I read Cluverius, l. ii. c. iii. p. 537—550. That chapter contains a good description of Faleria, the capital of the Falisci; a city which preserved to the age of Augustus clear marks of its Grecian origin.

I went to the public library. In the great collection of Italian historians, by Grævius, vol. viii. p. 3, I found a performance of the learned Mazzocchi, pretending to prove that Civita Castellana, thirty miles from Rome, was the ancient Veii; and a refutation of that work by my friend Nardini. Mazzocchi must have been strangely blinded by his prepossession in favour of his native city. He has not the shadow of a proof.

I finished the first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Schedius, de Diis Germanis:* an immense compilation, without taste, criticism, or discernment.—*Henry Ditton's Demonstration of the Christian Religion.* How grossly have those two words been abused!—*Letters of an Ex-Jesuit, on the Paradoxes of Father Hardouin.* This learned man is here allowed to speak for himself. His zeal for tradition, and his hatred towards the Jansenists and the philosophers, involved him in all his absurdities. Finding in the fathers, and particularly in St. Augustin, many things favourable to the cause of his enemies, he was willing to oppose

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oppose facts to opinions, and boldly declared Augustine's impious works to be spurious. The fall of Augustine's work, *de Libero Arbitrio*, brought down with it the other fathers by whom it was quoted. The ruin of the fathers involved that of profane writers: the whole edifice fell in pieces. This was what he called unstringing the beads from the rosary of antiquity. He might have drawn many good thoughts from M. Barbeyrac, who wrote an excellent treatise on the morality of the fathers. How ill did those doctors of the church understand the most valuable of all sciences. They prohibited the most innocent pleasures, and the most lawful occupations, as savouring of the world, and nearly connected with idolatry. They would have destroyed mankind in order to sanctify them. But on the other hand, regarding it as a principle that every action related in the Old Testament, and not therein condemned, was by this silence approved, they justified and praised adultery, falsehood, incest, and cruelty.

Oct. 30th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. iii, iv, v, vi. p. 550—624. The author describes the other cities of Tuscany, situate inland; Volsinii, Clusium, Aretium, Perugia, and Cortona. The passages which he has collected, respecting the lake Thrasymenus, afford a very natural picture of this famous spot, which was bounded on one side by the lake itself, and on the other by a range of high mountains, which opened only by two narrow defiles. Thither Hannibal had the address to decoy the army of Flaminius, that it might

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be taken, as it were, in a net. Cluverius afterwards passes into Umbria, and treats of the origin of its inhabitants, who, notwithstanding his opinion to the contrary, appear to have been Celts. He describes their territory, which was divided in one direction by the Apennines, and in another by the Flaminian Way. That portion of it which lies between the sea, Etruria, and the Apennines, is the subject of his fifth and sixth chapters.

Oct. 31st.]—I remained all day at home, by which Cluverius was a gainer. I read Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. vi, vii. viii, ix, x. p. 624—722. Nearly an hundred pages daily would greatly quicken my progress; but such efforts are seldom made. In those four chapters, the author concludes his account of Umbria by describing that portion of it which extends between the Apennines and the territory of the Sabines. That territory itself forms the next object of his research. He treats finally of the Tiber, and of the rivers which fall into it. This chapter, with that on the Po, includes almost all the rivers in Italy. The river Tiberis was, by a poetical licence, spelt Tybris. The god of the river was called Tiberinus. All good writers have attended to this distinction, which is pointed out by Servius.

Nov. 1st.]—I read Cluverius, l. ii. c. xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p. 722—762. The author describes Picenum, one of the most fertile and best peopled districts in Italy. He then proceeds to several communities, inconsiderable in point of their numbers, but highly distinguished by their valour; the Marrucini,

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cini, Marsi, Vestini, and Peligni. Corfinium was one of the principal cities belonging to the last. This place was once in hopes of being highly distinguished. Had the social war been prosperous, Rome must have yielded to Corfinium; which, under the name of Italica, was to have been the head of the new confederacy. I shall venture to make some reflexions on this extraordinary war, the principal circumstances of which have been somewhat misrepresented by the Abbé Vertot: an author whose works are read with the same pleasure as romances, to which in other respects they bear too much resemblance. 1. The Abbé Vertot introduces the Latins very unseasonably. "The Latins, those inhabitants of Latium who enjoyed the Latin law, and to whom Drusus gave hopes of acquiring the citizenship of Rome, rose in arms, when assassination had robbed them of their protector."* Yet it is certain that the people of Latium had no share in this rebellion. They are mentioned but once in the war; and, on that occasion, as sending auxiliaries to the army of the republic.† They did not think of renewing an ancient quarrel, which the fortune of war had, more than two hundred and fifty years before, decided against them. Previously to their subjugation, they had more than once made Rome to tremble. All that Vertot copies from Livy respecting that similarity of language, manners, and mili-

* Vertot. Revolut. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 26—30.

† T. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxii.

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tary discipline, which gave to the social, the appearance of a civil war, must be referred to the former æra.* In the time of the social war, Rome was too great to be an object of jealousy to the little cities of Latium, which were continually converted into villages and villas in the vicinity of the capital. Perpetual communication, and numerous alliances, had cemented the bands of their common origin. Many places had acquired the rights of citizenship; in others, the Latin law gave that right to two families annually. All the cities of Latium enjoyed many advantages, which must have naturally inspired them with affection for Rome, and hatred towards her more recent allies. 2. The author of the History of the Revolutions of Rome, so much exaggerates the strength of the Italian confederacy, that an air of romance is thereby thrown on his whole narrative, though it may not be perceptible to the greater part of his readers. According to his account, not only the Latins, but all the nations of Italy, signed this alliance, and sent a common embassy to Rome, demanding the rights of the city. It is a matter of astonishment that a single city should have been able to make a defence against the united force of so many allies, whom it had found so much difficulty in subduing successively. Happily this wonderf l circumstance contains as little truth as probability. The abridger of Livy has preserved the names of all the communities which composed this confede-

* T. Liv. viii. 6.

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racy. They were, the Samnites, Lucani, Picentes, Marsi, Peligni, Vestini, and Marrucini.* With regard to this fact, Livy's authority is better than any other; and in such an enumeration, an abridger having nothing to do but to copy, it is to be supposed that he does it correctly. The Samnites then were at the head of this league, into which they had prevailed on six other communities to enter, who were their neighbours, allies, or colonies. They were afterwards joined by several other cities, but not until the Romans, recovering from their consternation, had recalled their armies from abroad, fortified the passes into their territory, and even gained several victories over the allies. Livy informs us in general of those subsequent revolts,† but the particulars are to be found in Appian‡ and Strabo.§ They number among the rebels, the Frentani, Hirpini, Peucetii, with some cities of Apulia and Umbria. Of the former, Appian names Canusium and Venusia; speaking only in general of the *Umbrii*. I was surprised to find this historian also name the *Pompeiani*.‖ These could only be the inhabitants of Pompeii, a maritime city of Campania, near Naples.¶ Did Pompeii exist in the time of the social war? It cannot be of an earlier date than the family from which it derived its

* Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxii.
† Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxiii.
‡ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374. 376. 379.
§ Strab. Geograph. l. v. p. 166, 167.
‖ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374.
¶ Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. iii. p. 1154.

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name; and this family was unknown until the time of the great Pompey's father, that Cneius Pompeius Strabo, who was consul in the 665th year of Rome, and the second year of the social war. But supposing the antiquity of Pompeii, can it be imagined that a single city, and that a small one, should have ventured to revolt against the republic, though situate in the midst of so many more important places, which faithfully maintained their allegiance? I know that the scene of the war was changed to Campania, and am willing to believe that a party of the allies, having taken possession of Pompeii, there stood a siege:* but this explanation tends rather to extenuate, than to justify Appian's mistake. I am inclined to seek the names of the states which entered into the confederacy against Rome, in the narrative which Livy and other historians give of the war, rather than content myself with Appian's general description, when he says that the confederacy comprehended all the nations between the Liris, or Liturnus, and the Io nian sea.† Of thisdescription, one of the clauses is false, and the other inaccurate. The Ionian sea is taken in so many different meanings, that it denotes any thing you will.‡ The Liris and Liturnus were quite different rivers, and had only one cir-

* I have since discovered that the etymology of *Pompeii* is uncertain, and that I was right in my conjecture of its having been besieged. *V. Vell. Patercul. l. ii.*

† Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374.

‡ Vide Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. x. p. 1075; et l. iv. c. xvii. p. 1384.

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cumstance in common, that both were sometimes called Clanis, or Clanius. Such then were the allies. They surely were formidable; but fear or affection still collected many Italian nations around the standard of the republic; the whole of Latium, Campania, Brutium, Calabria, the Sabines, all Etruria, a part of Umbria and Apulia, and the whole of the colonies of Magna Græcia. The cities of Tuscany prepared for joining the allies; but the senate warded off this danger, by granting, of its own accord, the rights of the city to that important province.* A great number of colonies spread over all the districts of Italy, whose fidelity being secured by interest as well as gratitude, supplied the Romans with magazines, and with the protection of their fortresses. In those republics which declared against Rome, the citizens were not unanimous. The Romans had their creatures in each of those communities, whose avowed opposition, or secret intrigues, disturbed the measures of the prevailing party.† Each individual sided with the senate or the league, which became the watchword of faction, like the names of Guelphs and Ghibelines, which divided and desolated the same countries thirteen centuries afterwards. The Abbé Vertot, when he explained the difficulties with which the Romans had to contend, should also

* Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374.

† Vell. Paterculus, l. ii. c. 16. The Minatius Magius there spoken of, belonged to the very city which began the war, by the murder of a prætor and a legate.

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have mentioned the resources by which they were enabled to surmount them. 3. The nation of the Marsi, though formidable by its valour, was inferior in strength to the Samnites and the Picentes. Yet it had the honour of giving its name to the war, which is as well known by the appellation of the Marsic, as the Social. The Marsi were the only people on the Roman side of the Apennines, who ventured to declare against the republic. Their country became the first theatre of the war, and when the senate assigned armies to the consuls, it was by granting them the Marsi for their province. This is not the first example of the least considerable portion of a league giving its name to the whole. We know the ancient Scythians by the general denomination of Tartars, because the small tribe so called always formed the van of the Mogul armies during the extensive conquests of Zenghis Khan and his successors.* 4. The allies, though finally defeated in the war, obtained the rights of Roman citizens, which they had so eagerly desired. But they obtained this honour only to participate with Rome in all the calamities of which their own revolt had been the principal cause; and to ruin that republic and themselves. Generals commanding armies in the heart of Italy, and Italy converted into one city, whose inhabitants were citizens only by a kind of fiction, were cir-

* See Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Freret, in the eighteenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

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cumstances which too plainly prepared the way for slavery. How much must the allies have regretted that tranquillity and happy obscurity, which they had long enjoyed without knowing its value! During the period of an hundred and twenty years that elapsed from the second Punic, to the Social war, the nations of Italy flourished under the mildest of all governments. They had lost that unhappy right of making war on each other, which was no longer necessary for their defence. Secure under the protection of the Romans, they had nothing to fear from invaders. Their domestic disputes were settled by the senate, who beheld them all with the same paternal eye, and whose interposition liberated them from the miserable necessity of having recourse to arms. In return for these benefits, the whole of Italy supplied a body of infantry equal to that drawn from the single city of Rome, and double the number of cavalry;* a light contribution in itself, and which, by giving a military turn to their youth, tended to render them respectable to the Romans. Their authority was sovereign as to all other matters which contribute to the happiness of nations, namely, the affairs of justice, police, and political economy. They had not to endure the tyranny of governors, as insolent as rapacious; their law-suits were not

* T. Livius, l. xxii. c. 36. It appears from several passages of this author, that this was the ordinary proportion. Velleius Paterculus exaggerates a little, when he speaks of double the number of troops. L. ii. c. 15.

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carried by appeal to the capital; and a wall of brass did not form an insurmountable barrier between the citizen and the subject. They were debarred indeed collectively from the rights of Roman citizens; but whenever an individual proved that his ambition was justified by his merit, Rome was too attentive to her interests not to acknowledge him for her own.* I write in the Pays de Vaud. Its inhabitants ought to be contented with their condition; yet it will not gain by a comparison with that of the people of Italy. I know that some advantages were withholden from that people by the pride of the Romans, as to the concerns of private life, marriages, testaments, &c. I perceive also that they had reason to complain of some acts of violence, especially in latter times; and I am sensible that such things are more striking to the fancy, than all the general advantages derived from the operation of good laws, which pass almost unobserved. 5. In undertaking this war, the allies were guilty of imprudence; were they also unjust? Could they justify their refusal to observe their former treaties, and the insurrection which their refusal produced? I do not mean completely to discuss a question as extensive as it is difficult. I will endeavour, however, to establish the following principles. 1. The treaties entered into by the general assemblies of two nations ought to bind their heirs and successors; because it is not to be presumed that either party has agreed to submit to

* Tacit. Annal. xi. 24.

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any inconvenience without obtaining some advantage in return; and he who reaps the benefit of one part of a contract, ought to bear the burden contained in the other. The same principle does not apply to treaties entered into between nations and their leaders. These treaties hardly deserve the name, being destitute of a condition essential to the validity of every contract; namely, the mutual independence of the parties, and their power to provide for their respective advantages. They deserve the name rather of general resolutions than of treaties, and derive their force merely from the will of those by whom they were embraced. 2. The validity of a treaty is founded on the will of the contracting parties. That will ought to be free. It will be granted that every kind of violence, affecting the body, renders a contract null; for such violence does not merely constrain, but annihilates the will. But there is a milder violence which we daily experience, that acts on the will by presenting it with the almost necessary alternative of happiness or misery. It rarely happens that individuals or nations undertake engagements, unless when they are impelled by this universal motive. The law of nature must either allow that this violence is consistent with liberty, or fidelity to our engagements will be reduced to an empty name. On the other hand, if fear does not nullify a promise, honesty must be its own victim, and robbers will acquire a right to all the goods of the earth. These difficulties may be removed by the following easy and simple distinction.

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tion. Promises are binding only with respect to those who were entitled to inflict the evils with which they threatened us. These evils not being inflicted, change their nature, and become real goods bestowed on us, which serve as a sufficient basis to treaties; being a proper compensation for the burdens to which we engage to submit. 3. Society reuniting in the body politic the rights and wills of individuals, the community at large enjoy all the rights which were enjoyed by individuals in a state of nature. The right of self-preservation holds the first place. It necessarily includes the right of self-defence, of repelling force by force, and of subjecting the unjust aggressor to all the evils with which he threatens us, even to death itself. This right therefore still subsists in communities; the magistrate is entrusted with the national force to make war, not against individuals, but against the members of a foreign community, of which individuals are merely the instruments. He attacks the community only. If his cause is just, and the hatred and violence of his antagonist renders *his* death necessary to his own safety, he then exercises the rights of nature, and takes away his life; that is, his civil life, by subduing and destroying the constitution of his country. On this principle the right of conquest is founded. If the conqueror exercise his right in all its rigour, and the conquered acknowledge him for their master, I think they are bound to maintain inviolate an engagement by which they have acquired the benefit of public tranquillity.

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But from this point, which is perhaps the feeblest bond of human probity, two kinds of treaties gradually diverge, and gradually gain strength as they remove from their source. The first is that, where, in proportion as the conquest is less complete, the necessity of contracting the obligation is indeed diminished, but the equality between the parties is increased to that perfect independence, which leaves them at full liberty in their respective engagements. If the conqueror, on the other hand, having it in his power to destroy his enemies, has thought proper to save them, the contract acquires a degree of force proportional to the advantages which he might have taken away, but which he has been pleased to leave. The observations formerly made concerning the happy state of the people of Italy, sufficiently show how much validity the wisdom of the Roman conquerors had given to their treaties with the vanquished. 4. But, it will be asked, had these treaties the most essential of all conditions? The right of conquest ought to be founded on justice; a virtue to which those robbers of the earth were strangers. I wish not to enter into historical discussions, because I am in quest, not of facts, but of principles. In our present state of error, vice, or weakness, we are often obliged to give up absolute truths, for those that are merely conventional, because the only truths within our reach. It is thus that, with regard both to individuals and societies, reason allows us to examine the foundation of their authority, but not to find fault

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fault with the manner in which they are pleased to exercise it. Both the right, and the exercise of that right, ought to be founded on justice; but as our reason is not always able to distinguish wherein that justice consists, we are obliged to suppose it on the side of those whose power we are unable to resist.

I have endeavoured to be as concise as possible, avoiding reflections merely accessory, consequences, and, above all, applications. On the whole, I am forced to give sentence against the allies.

But on every supposition, Velleius Paterculus is blamable. After acknowledging the just pretensions of the allies,* he has the impudence to praise the conduct of Minatius Magius, one of his own ancestors, who, maintaining his fidelity to the Romans, raised a legion for their service, and distinguished his valour in the sieges of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Casa.† But this Minatius, who, according to Velleius, was the defender of tyrants, could not approve his fidelity to Rome, without being a traitor to Asculum. It is plain, that the flatterer of Sejanus was not a fit judge of the great principles concerning the law of nations.

Nov. 2d.]—I read the continuation of an extract in the eleventh volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, containing the history of Servetus, written by Mr. Alevoerde, under the eyes of the famous Mosheim. The journalist (perhaps Mr. de la Chapelle) has many observations and researches concerning this extraordinary transaction, which are

* Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 15. † Ibid. c. 16.

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far more valuable than the book itself. The two authors had treated Calvin with great severity. The reviewer repels their attacks, which he ascribes to the rancour of Lutheran zeal against the patriarch of the Calvinists. The punishment of Servetus cannot indeed be justified; but, in this business, Calvin was not actuated by worldly motives, but by a mistaken religious zeal, and a respect for maxims which, though cruel and sanguinary, were acknowledged and avowed by all Christian churches. But many observations still remain to be made. 1. The examples of churches and theologians who declare in favour of the punishment of heretics, are nothing to the present question. Men's actions are never less guided by their principles, than when those principles run counter to the natural sentiments of humanity. The heart here corrects the errors of the understanding. A man of a humane character, under the influence of a false zeal, will in his closet condemn a heretic to death; but will he drag him to the stake? Not to shudder at the shedding of innocent blood, requires a heart totally insensible to pity. 2. I acknowledge the power of false zeal and an erroneous conscience. It is sufficient to silence the voice of pity; but can it stifle its murmurs? Will not the unhappy theologian feel a combat in his own breast between religion and humanity? Will not the outward expressions of sorrow indicate how deeply he is afflicted to shed his brother's blood? Brutus saw that the death of his sons was neces-

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sary to save the liberty of Rome. He pronounced the fatal sentence; but had he sent them to punishment without any emotions of grief, it might have been justly said that his natural ferocity hindered him from perceiving the magnitude of the sacrifice that he made, and even that he had sacrificed them rather to his own hatred and vengeance than to the safety of his country. In Calvin's behaviour, I can see nothing but the most abominable cruelty. He loads Servetus with invectives; he fears lest his victim should escape from his hands; and, in a tone of triumph, passes on him the sentence of condemnation. But Servetus did not spare the divine of Geneva. I know it. But the one loaded with reproaches a wretch whom he had confined in irons; the other only breathed out too loudly his agonies of suffering. Hard must be the heart which does not feel the difference! 3. A few years before, Servetus had communicated to Calvin all his religious opinions. Their epistolary correspondence was of considerable duration. But when Servetus was seized at Vienna, Calvin sent all his letters to the magistrates. In this instance, he may justly be reproached with having violated the tacit promise which is always supposed in such a correspondence, and which an honest man would have held sacred, instead of availing himself of the frankness of the Spaniard, for the purpose of destroying him. 4. We must recollect Calvin's situation in Geneva. He was the legislator of a new republic, and experienced the difficulties incident to innovators. A numerous faction, headed by the first

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first syndic, pressed on him with rancour, and espoused the cause of Servetus because Calvin was his enemy. The latter was sensible that the process of Servetus was his own: and the reviewer ingenuously confesses, that unless Servetus perished, Calvin was ruined. Calvin's friends acknowledge that he was opinionated, haughty, and jealous of his authority. Let themselves draw the consequence. It was necessary that the throne of the reformer should be cemented with the blood of Servetus. 5. In a letter written to an intimate friend, Calvin does not dissemble his hopes that Servetus would be soon condemned to death. He wishes, however, that he may escape the utmost rigour of that punishment; probably, that he might not be burnt alive. Yet this very rigour was afterwards approved by himself; and that at a time when he was all-powerful at Geneva. Either this reformer concealed his real sentiments under dark hypocrisy and inquisitorial mildness, or motives very different from those of religion hindered him from soliciting from the magistrates a favour, which his conscience obliged him to demand, and which he was sure would not have been refused. 6. When we collect and combine all these circumstances with the acknowledged character of the reformer, can we doubt that a hard and cruel heart, an ambitious soul, and hatred towards the man who despised his instructions, and impeached his opinions, united with religious zeal in impelling Calvin to persecute the unfortunate Servetus? Voltaire therefore is right, when he says, that

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Calvin had an enlightened mind, but an atrocious soul.

Nov. 3d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. lib. ii, c. xv, xvi. p. 762—786; where the first volume ends. He concludes his account of the *Marsi*, and then describes the rude and mountainous country of the *Æqui*, whom it cost the Romans, in the infancy of their state, so much trouble to conquer. *Alba Fucentia* was a Roman colony in the territory of the *Marsi*, on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*. The pleasantness of the country, and the security of its inland situation, made the Romans often send thither prisoners of state, conquered and dethroned kings, to whom they wished to give, instead of a prison, a soft and comfortable retreat. Perseus, King of Macedon, died there, and was honoured with a public funeral; a treatment very different from that of the unfortunate Jugurtha, who was thrown into the *Carcer Tullianus*, to die of cold and hunger. The reason of this difference will be explained elsewhere.*

Nov. 4th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iii. c. i. p. 787—820. He comes at length to the most interesting part of Italy; Latium, and the neighbourhood of the capital; not however without leading us through the tiresome round of the *Oenotri*, *Siculi*, *Pelasgi*, and *Aborigines;* in which obscure researches the thread of connexion is always slipping through our hands. Cluverius had not that clearness and criticism necessary for unravelling the perplexities

* See vol. iv. p. 397.

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of those remote antiquities; the difficulties of which Freret has eluded, because he was not able to resolve them.

I finished the eighteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the *History of the Jesuits:* an idle rhapsody of well-known stories, the belief of which supposes, perhaps with good reason, unbounded wickedness in the Jesuits, and unbounded credulity in the public. This work, besides, is ill-written; without method, and deformed by digressions.—*Defence of the Translation of the History of the Council of Trent, by Father Courayer.* The reviewer is angry at this amiable writer for accepting of the degree of Doctor from the university of Oxford, although he was not a Protestant. Yet, without coming to a perfect identity of opinions, the two religions nearly meet: the university carrying to the utmost length the opinions of the Anglican church, and the Father Courayer softening as much as possible those of the church of Rome.—*Pontoppidan's Gesta Danorum extra Daniam:* a curious collection of truths and fables to raise the glory of a nation, which required only the former.—*Hardouin's Commentary on the New Testament.* He pretends that the Vulgate is the true original, of which the Greek text is only the translation.—*Machiavel a Republican.* The author makes use of the vulgar argument, viz. that Machiavel wrote his Prince to inspire the Medicis with maxims that must render them universally odious; but this argument is destroyed by proving that treatise

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to have been written before their usurpation.—*Antiquities of the French Nation, by Mr. Le Gendre:* learned, but without criticism. The simplicity of the good Le Gendre discovers the Scythians to be the ancestors of the French, from their polite behaviour to the Amazons.—*Political Discourses, by Mr. Gordon; and a Parallel of the French with the Romans, by the Abbé Mably.* These two writers have gained a great reputation; the one by boldness and enthusiasm, the other by his appearance of honesty and calm reasoning. Yet I have never been able to discover in their works any thing but common-place. I have been in company with the latter, and can answer for it, that his admiration of monarchy has much cooled in the space of twenty years.

Nov. 5th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. ii. p. 820—870. He is here rather the critic and antiquary than the geographer, which last character becomes him far the best. With an incredulity beyond that of Pouilly and Beaufort, he regards the whole history of the first ages of Rome as fabulous. He dethrones the Roman, as well as the Alban kings; and has no more belief in Romulus than in Æneas; using learned arguments, weakly urged, drawn from the contradictory accounts of writers concerning the origin of Rome, the gross ignorance of the first Romans, and the improbable circumstances told of the birth and education of their founder. Having overturned the received system, he proceeds to explain his own. When the Aborigines left the country of the Sabines to invade

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invade the Siculi, they were in alliance with a Pelasgic colony from Arcadia. The Siculi were conquered; and the leader of the Pelasgi took possession of Valencia, one of their towns on the banks of the Tiber, and gave it the name of Rome. The Pelasgi afterwards separated; and mixing with the Aborigines, formed with them the nation called Latins. This event happened fifteen centuries before the Christian æra; and to this Pelasgic chief, the true founder of Rome, ought to be referred the few facts on the basis of which so many fables have been built concerning the supposed personages—Saturn, Janus, Evander, Æneas, and Romulus. This system is new, and in some parts specious: but it is so weak, that two reflexions are sufficient to overturn it. 1. Can it be imagined that the Romans, having lost all memory of eight hundred years of their history, and not being able to go higher than the eighth century before Christ, should have been obliged to conceal their ignorance under the absurd fable which they gave out concerning their pretended founder? Many cities have invented fictions for the purpose of magnifying their antiquity and nobility. But the fable fabricated by the Romans, abridges their history by the period of 760 years, and substitutes for their ancient Pelasgic origin, a pretended descent from shepherds and robbers. The Romans knew, at least they believed, the settlement of Evander on Mount Palatine; and if they were ignorant of the transactions of the intermediate centuries, would not this space have been filled up by names,

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genealogies, and fables such as were interposed to form the chain between Æneas and Romulus? These suppositions are necessary for Cluverius's system, but cannot be made without supposing in the first Romans a degree of gross ignorance, inconceivable in a nation inhabiting cities, and enjoying the use of letters. 2. But these suppositions, if granted, would militate against the system which they are meant to establish. The same ignorance which obliterated the history of the Romans, must also have destroyed that of the Pelasgi, their remote ancestors. How extraordinary is the privilege granted to the latter nation, whose ancient migrations are supposed to be undoubted facts that admit not of dispute, and that ought to be employed for dissipating all the clouds that obscure the history of their more recent posterity!

The hypothesis of the learned geographer must fall to the ground; but the falsity of that hypothesis does not prove the Roman history to be true. I readily give up to historical scepticism, or rather to contempt and oblivion, the high exploits of Æneas, the Trojan colony, the kings of Alba, and the wolf of Romulus. But what degree of credit ought to be given to the first decad of Livy? To discuss fully such a question would require knowledge and leisure. I have neither. Yet merely to break new ground on a question almost exhausted, I would observe; 1. that it requires greater precision of ideas, than has hitherto been aimed at. Cluverius would allow that some truths may be discovered amidst the

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the heap of fables; and the Abbé Sallier would acknowledge that the Roman has shared the fate of all histories, whose purity has been corrupted by some fictions. Before entering upon the controversy, I shall give my own articles of faith; and not to expatiate in too wide a field, shall confine myself to the transactions related in the abridgment of the first books of Livy. I would venture to maintain that these transactions happened, without giving up some of the more probable circumstances with which they are said to have been accompanied. 2. The subject of the external proofs is exhausted. Concerning the great annals, the domestic memoirs, &c. nothing can be added to the arguments of Messrs. Sallier and Freret on one side, and the objections of Messrs. Pouilly and Beaufort on the other. I would change the mode of attack, and make use of the proofs which divines call internal. My argument would be, that the first Roman historians having lived in the days of Hannibal, the fables which, according to my adversaries, they refuted, must have gained possession of the public fifty years before that period. I would combine the nature of those fables with the condition of the Romans, and examine whether it is likely that, under such circumstances, similar fables should either have been invented or believed.

Nov. 6th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. iii. p. 870—900. He treats of the maritime places of Latium. They were few in number; we meet, however, with the celebrated names of the river

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river Numicus, Ostia, Laurentum, and Lavinium, often confounded with Lanuvium. I am surprised he should omit to speak of Pliny the younger's Villa Laurentina, which is so well described by its master. He might easily have ascertained its situation, and have very properly inserted those passages of Pliny, which exhibit so lively a picture of the circumjacent country. I perceive that Virgil makes the Trojans sail up the Tiber, and places Æneas's first camp on the banks of the river; whereas the greater part of writers, relying on the story of the sow, and some very vague expressions indeed of the poet himself, suppose that hero to have landed at the mouth of the Numicus, near to the place where he built shortly afterwards the city of Lavinium.

Nov. 7th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. iv. p. 900—950. The author continues to describe Latium; the inland country contained Lanuvium, Aricia, Alba, Tusculum, and Gabii; places famous during the first ages of Rome on account of their resistance to its arms; and afterwards, on account of the beautiful villas with which the great men of the republic, and the emperors, crowded the neighbourhood of the capital. Continually Greek fables; there is scarcely one of those cities which has not a supposed founder belonging to that nation. Of all those fables, often very ill-contrived by the Greeks, concerning western nations, especially Italy, there are some few that stand apart, but the greater number are connected with one or other of those three celebrated

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brated events; the return of Hercules from his Iberian expedition, the voyages of the Argonauts, and those of Ulysses.

I finished the twenty-ninth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *De Traditione Principiorum Legis Naturalis, by Ausaldus.* The primitive revelation, whether preserved by tradition, or by principles which each individual may discover by the exercise of his own reason, will be attended with the same consequences; but the latter hypothesis is more simple, and more consonant with the attributes of the Creator.—*The Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters: first and second Extract.* The excellence of the first part of this great work is well known. The reviewer shows clearly that the hail-stones which completed the defeat of the inhabitants of Canaan, was only a storm of ordinary hail, and refutes the credulity of those historians who think that it consisted of large stones, formed and supported in the air till the moment of their fall.—*A methodical Catalogue of the Plants found in Switzerland, by Albert Haller.* I am little interested in a work on botany, but very much in Mr. Haller. This universal genius unites the fire of poetry with the sagacity and discernment of the philosopher: his natural abilities are equal to his acquired knowledge. His memory is retentive to a degree almost miraculous. A few years ago he supped with Mr. de G. whose memory is also surprising. The conversation turned on the affairs of Sweden, and the antiquities of Rome; and the scholar always cor-

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corrected the traveller. With all his admirers, Haller has but few friends. Wherever he has happened to reside, at Gottingen, Berne, or the Pays de Vaud, his harsh, haughty, and ambitious character has offended all his acquaintances.—*The History of William the Conqueror, by the Abbé Prevôt.* I found in it some quotations from an old chronicle, the natural simplicity of which gave me great pleasure.—*The History of Mount Vesuvius, by the Academy of Naples:* very curious. The heat of the lava, even after its first violence has abated, is far greater than that of red-hot iron.

Nov. 8th.]—Being unwell, I did nothing but read a small work which Mr. Pavillard had lent to me. It is entitled, *Letters written from the Country*, and relates to the troubles of Geneva; concerning which I know nothing more than the public at large. These letters are written by a man of abilities, who affects too much however the style of Montesquieu. He is an advocate for the magistrates, and considers as a salutary check the previous approbation of the little council, before any bill can be proposed to the general assembly. This regulation he compares with the king's negative in the constitution of England. But there is a wide difference between a negative before, and after deliberation.

11th.]—I finished the thirtieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Cuper's Letters;* which give as favourable an impression of the heart as of the understanding of this learned Dutchman.—*The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples,*

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Naples, by Mr. Giannone. The candour, penetration, and freedom, of this excellent lawyer, will ever ensure to this work the esteem of all wise men. Churchmen are not always of the number.—*Poems, by the King of Navarre:* highly valuable, on account of the rank of the author, their antiquity, and their own real beauties.—*Taylor's Dissertation on the Law of the Decemvirs against Insolvent Debtors.* His conclusion is not new. He thinks the debtor was sold as a slave, and the price received for him divided amongst his creditors, and not the slave himself. As this journal begins to grow too fashionable, the reviewer does not venture to insert the Latin, which cannot however easily be dispensed with in this discussion.—*Universal History; third Extract.* The reviewer collects a great number of curious examples on the power of music.—*Natural History of Fishes, by Klein;* curious.—*The Count d'Estrade's Letters* lay open the springs of the French policy, and all the ambition of Louis XIV.—*A Treatise on the Number of Inhabitants in Holland and West Friesland, by Mr. Kerseboom.* As this curious work is in Dutch, I shall speak of it at some length. The result of his observations is; 1. The number of children born yearly amount to 28,000. 2. The total of the inhabitants to 980,000; that is, in the proportion of 35 to 1, of the births. 3. The number of married couples is 169,000. After subtracting the bastards, it turns out that of thirteen married couples of all ages, two produce children yearly. 4. Mr. Kerseboom finds by his calculations,

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tions, that of two persons that enter into wedlock between the ages of 20 and 50, it is 13 to 7 that one will die before the lapse of twenty years. 5. Of 1400 new-born children, the probable number of those who will remain alive at each of the assigned ages, is as follows:

Age.	Alive.	Age.	Alive.
1	1125	60	382
10	895	70	245
20	817	80	100
30	711	90	10
40	605	95	1
50	507		

Nov. 12th.]—I read a small new work, a poem in prose, entitled, *Olivier*. The style is easy and flowing, but rarely elevated to a pitch deserving the name of poetry. The story is interesting; we are pleased with the adventures of this Olivier, who subdues the Count's hatred by good offices. The characters of Enguerrand and his squire are amusing. His adventure in the village of the Limousin is a counterpart to that of Gil Blas with the archbishop of Grenada. The travels of Fleur d'Epine are throughout too extravagant. The isle of musicians is not a bad fancy; but the whole pleasantry is founded on a pun, the double meaning of the word *air*. The arrangement of the poem is detestable. I am provoked to find the narrative continually broken into cantos; and those parts of it resumed which had been almost forgotten. The author has imitated Ariosto. That is true; but Ariosto's arrangement is good for nothing. Besides, we ought not to confound the natural

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natural wanderings of a great genius unacquainted with rules, and the studied disorder of a writer who is extravagant by design, and who gives himself much trouble to violate those laws of composition with which he is acquainted.

Nov. 14th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iii. c. iv, v. p. 950—979. The author treats of the other inland cities of Latium; Tibur, Præneste, Gabii, &c. He thence proceeds to the Rutuli, who inhabited a small district between the sea, the Latins, and the Volsci. This little community must have separated itself from the political confederacy of the Latins, since it did not participate in the sacrifices on Mount Alba, which the members of that confederacy annually met to celebrate. The poets, however, often confound those two nations; which were indeed nearly united by the situation of their territories and their common origin. Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, was taken and burnt by Æneas; the poets feign that a bird flew from its ashes; a strange fable, as shocking to the fancy as to reason. But the dogma of the metempsychosis was extremely metaphysical; and of that kind of metaphysics, of which the consequences became the more refined in proportion to the absurdity of the fictions on which they were founded. Our religion assures us of the soul's immortality, and even immateriality; but the doctrine of the resurrection makes us consider the body as an essential part of the man, and tends to persuade us that without the assistance of organs, the soul would not be capable of action. The metempsychosis,

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on the contrary, separate the soul and body without depriving the former of any of its faculties. These faculties it owes only to itself: man is still a man; and in the body of another animal can think and reflect as well as in his own. When this opinion is adopted, though we may dispute concerning the nature of this soul, we must allow that it has nothing in common with the body which it inhabits.

Nov. 15th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii, c. vi, vii, viii. p. 979—1048. He casts a glance on the little country of the Hernici, inclosed in the mountains; and describes at length the extensive territories of the Volsci, of which Antium was the capital. This nation had a marine, consisting of light vessels, with which they infested the seas of Greece and Italy. Alexander sent ambassadors, complaining to the Romans of their depredations; and the Romans endeavoured to repress their piracy. Who was this Alexander? I think he was that king of Epirus, who made war in Italy, and whom the Greek colonies there chose for their general and protector against the barbarians. This office naturally connected him with the Romans. When some writers speak of an embassy sent by the senate to Alexander the Great, they confound the uncle with the nephew. The authority of the ancients, as well as the improbability of the thing itself, convinces me that the Romans never had any communication with the conqueror of Asia.

16th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. ix. p. 1048—1062. He speaks of that confu-

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sion of the names of nations and tribes, which it is so difficult to unravel. The Opici, the Osci; the Ausones, and Aurunci, are so continually confounded, that there must have been different names for the same people, or their territories must have been strangely intermingled.

Nov. 17th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iii. c. x. l. iv. c. i, ii. p. 1062—1102. The author enters into particulars concerning the country of the Ausones, which became afterwards a part of New Latium. Formiæ was distinguished by the infamous honour of being the capital of the Læstrigones, at the time when Italy was to the Greeks what the inland parts of America are to us. Homer has rendered this fable interesting. The discovery of an unknown country, where every object surprises and affects us, where curiosity is continually excited, and continually gratified, affords a pleasure similar to that felt in our travels. Yet the poet may be reproached with two incorrect touches, which somewhat disfigure his picture. The Læstrigones are either too refined, or too barbarous. They inhabit cities, they have chariots, and hired shepherds. Yet they are men-eaters. Happily for human nature, this ferocity never existed but in nations totally devoid of culture; and even among them man does not devour his fellow-creatures unless driven to this madness by famine or vengeance. 2. The Læstrigones were giants. Every thing belonging to them ought to be in due proportion; their children, houses, and cities. Yet Ulysses's spies travel through the country, converse with

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the king's daughter, and follow her without distrust to her father's palace. Their fears are not mentioned, till they see the queen of the Læstrigones. Gulliver was a better observer of proportions.

Nov. 18th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. ii. p. 1102—1115. After having determined the situation and bounds of Campania, he describes the sea-coast from Sinuessa, viz. Vulturnum, Liternum, Sylva Gallinaria, and Cumæ. This last place is described at great length. Its foundation and power, above all its Sibyl, immortalized by Virgil, furnish the geographer with an abundant crop. This last article is well treated, without confusion, but with his natural copiousness.

20th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iv. c. ii. p. 1115—1146. In pursuance of his design, he describes the coast of Campania, from Cumæ to Naples: a small district, famous in all ages. Misenum, Baiæ, Puteoli, with the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, the terror of the early Greeks, and the delight of the Romans, will always render this coast highly interesting.

21st.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. iii. p. 1146—1164. He continues and concludes his account of the coasts of Campania and Naples, to the promontory of Minerva, which separated them from the territory of the Picentini. Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, and Surrentum, are the principal places described in his route.

There are different opinions concerning the place of Virgil's tomb. St. Jerome and Donatus appear on one side; but Cluverius, followed by Mr. Addison,

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dison, on the other, rejects without ceremony their evidence; and, upon the authority of Statius, transports this monument to the other side of the city, and the foot of Mount Vesuvius. I should with them prefer Statius's information, were it conveyed in precise terms. But this poet speaks in general only of the Chalcidic shores, places which experienced the rage of Vesuvius; and such vague language seems merely to indicate the neighbourhood of Naples. St. Jerome and Donatus, on the other hand, tell us, that Virgil was buried at the distance of two miles from that city, and on the high road to Puteoli; this account is so clear, that it cannot be mistaken. It may be reconciled with that of Statius, and is justified by the tradition of the country. Why should it be rejected?

Nov. 22d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. iv. p. 1164—1171. He treats of the isles lying opposite to the coast of Campania. The two largest appear like advanced works, intended to guard the two promontories of the Bay of Naples. The one is called Ænaria or Pithecusa; the other is the famous Capreæ.

24th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iv. c. v. p. 1171—1179. After having treated of the coast and islands of Campania, he proceeds to the inland country. We behold the fertile fields of Falernum and Capua, whose corn and wine formed the surest revenue of the republic, and nourished a vast multitude of citizens. The district of Falernum was bounded by the vineyards of Mount Massicus. The ancients often confounded these two growths.

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Capua appears next; that proud city, whose inhabitants foolishly thought that their riches would enable them to contend with Rome. The Romans destroyed the republic, but spared the city: and in never re-establishing its political constitution, an event which they always feared, they were guided rather by a concern for the safety of their own government, than by maxims of external policy. Cicero artfully confounds these two objects in his pleadings against Rullus; he had good reasons for so doing.

Nov. 25th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. vi, vii, viii, p. 1179—1205. The author describes the remainder of Campania, and the territories of the Picentini, Hirpini, and Samnites. These two nations inhabited mountains of little fertility, which were almost deserts, under the Romans; who had conquered the Samnites only by extirpating them. Florus is right. It is impossible to find in these districts objects worthy of twenty-four triumphs. Mr. Addison is again in my way. Why would he place in Umbria lake Ampsanctus, which Virgil has so well described? Was he ignorant of, or did he despise, the passages of Cicero and Pliny, which place that lake in the country of the Hirpini? The Fury could not make a choice more worthy of her character, than that of plunging into a lake whose waters proved fatal to all who approached them.

I finished the thirty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Lucian, by Messrs. Hempsterhuis and Gesner;* accompanied with every help that can render an edition valuable: manuscripts

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scripts collated, a new translation, and remarks of many of the learned. In speaking of the Philopatris, the editors prove that it must have been written under an emperor of Constantinople, who allowed the Christians to be insulted. This æra, being applicable only to Julian, destroys all the consequences which have been deduced from this work. —*Account of a Mission into Greenland, by Mr. Egede*, in Danish. All here is curious: the design of the voyage, uncommon among Protestants; the country; and its inhabitants. Nature is clad in terror; the animals are small and few. No other plants can thrive, excepting those which ripen in a summer of two months, and can bear a winter of ten. Corn will not grow beyond the sixty-fourth degree; beyond the sixty-fifth spirits of wine freeze. There is not even snow; all is hard ice, whose sparkling colours gladden this scene of horror. Yes; man is naturally good; I appeal to these Greenlanders, who are no strangers to love in the midst of their frozen regions, but are strangers to war excepting against the brute creation. They are lazy, inconstant; exempt from ill-nature, but destitute of great virtues. The Iroquois, who eat their prisoners, have also laws, ideas, and arts; with which last the Greenlanders are unacquainted. Compared with the Greenlanders, the Iroquois are a civilized nation. How delightful is the contemplation of nature!—*Theology of Insects, by Mr. Lesner*; very curious.—*Letters of Count d'Estrades;* highly useful for the history of negociations, a kind of history almost unknown

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to antiquity.—*Fourmont's Chinese Grammar.* A striking proof of the superiority of the Europeans. Chinese Grammars are written in Paris: will French grammars ever be written in Pekin? I am doubtful whether the Mandarins themselves know the principles of their own language as well as Mr. Fourmont.—*A Treatise on the Senses, by Mr. Le Cat.* The knowledge of the senses approaches nearly to that of the soul, of which they are the organs. Mr. Le Cat explains their anatomy, functions, and objects, with penetration always guided by experience. His work has given me a pleasure not to be described.—*The Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract relates to the history of the Persians, according to oriental writers; whom the editors boldly prefer to the Greek. Many learned men have entertained the same opinion, which appears to me indefensible. 1. In the oriental writers, the characteristics of the fabulous are predominant; there is no attention to chronology; geographical errors abound; and the marvellous forms the essential part of the narrative, instead of being merely an accessory. 2. In the history of Persia, there are many transactions concerning which the Greeks could not be mistaken; such as the time of the establishment of Cyrus's empire, and the wars between the Persians and themselves. But the Persian accounts differ as widely from the Greek, with respect to those matters, as they do with respect to all others. 3. I know that the Greeks only shewed themselves in Persia, and that their eastern subjects

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jects lived quietly under their transitory reign. But their successors, the Parthians, a Scythian nation who hated the Persians, whose effeminacy they despised, kept them during five centuries under a yoke of iron. A conflagration, or other transient calamity, rarely destroys the whole monuments of a country; but, under a cruel government, which renders each generation more stupid than the preceding, they crumble into dust, and become a prey to worms; and truth is soon stifled under a weight of fabulous tradition. The history of the dynasty of the Sassanides is less liable to objection. It is better connected, more probable in itself, as well as more conformable to the narratives of European writers. Yet a considerable time elapsed from the Arabian conquest, before the Persians endeavoured to collect their historical monuments.

Nov. 27th.]—I read Saurin's famous pleading against Rousseau. How singular a business is this! While wars and negociations are almost forgotten, this dispute between two private individuals is still remembered, and after the lapse of sixty years, still foments party passions. All I can decide is, that this performance of Saurin's is a fine exhibition of taste and eloquence.

28th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. p. 1205—1242. He proceeds to the coast of the Adriatic, and speaks shortly of the Frentani. He then treats of the country called Japygia by the Greeks, and Apulia by the Romans: giving its general division and limits. In page 1210

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the editor apprises us, that Cluverius did not proceed farther in revising his work; and that the remainder will appear less polished, less elaborate, and perhaps less accurate. Heinsius's delicacy in giving this information is commendable; but I have not yet discovered its necessity. All the towns of Apulia and Calabria here pass in review; *Arpi, Canusium, Luceria, Brundusium,* and last of all *Tarentum,* which is treated with a copiousness proportional to its importance.

Nov. 29th.]—I finished the thirty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Philosophical Researches of St. Hyacinthe:* a small performance, by a man who has more talent for ridicule than for reasoning.—*Cumberland's Treatise on the Laws of Nature, translated and commented on by Barbeyrac.* A learned refutation of Hobbes. This philosopher had degraded man to the condition of a beast; the bishop exalts him to that of an angel. Man, Cumberland tells us, is made for society; he is the only animal that laughs and weeps. Hobbes maintains that man is not made for society, because children and idiots, though participating of human nature, do not know what society means.—*Calvin's Letters to Jacques de Bourgogne.* Here we find you, harsh and intractable spirit! quarrelling with a respectable friend, because he wishes to snatch a victim from your theological zeal. On the subject of these letters, the librarian of Geneva writes one to the reviewers, containing a curious investigation of the whole business. This librarian had already supplied them with

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with several other pieces; which treat indeed merely of literary trifles, but these trifles are written agreeably and elegantly.—*Conformities between Jesus Christ and St. Francis of Assise.* Bartholemy of Pisa discovered only 40, but this author carries the number to 4000, most of them trivial, or too subtile. The absurdity of this book gives it a kind of value.—*Philo, by Mangey.* Philo, in the first century, always quotes the Old Testament in Aquila's version, who lived in the second: a perplexing difficulty for critics.—*Missions to Tranquebar.* This is the counterpart of the Voyage into Greenland; all is opposite in these voyages, excepting the design for which they were undertaken. The ancients went too far in their assertions; but if the frozen and torrid zones are inhabited, is it by men? I doubt whether these regions will ever be civilized like the temperate zones. The scarcity and weakness of animals, and the want of corn, wine, and iron, will always form natural obstacles of great importance. But I intend to read the book itself, and therefore leave the subject at present.

Nov. 30th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iv. c. xiii, xiv. p. 1242—1282. After finishing the subject of Calabria, he proceeds to Lucania, the only province which commanded a view of both seas. There were many Greek cities on the coast, and a numerous and fierce people inhabited the inland country. These dissensions were abolished by the Roman conquests. The few inhabitants who escaped the effects of their fury, lost all remembrance of

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of their former condition. The geographer perhaps sees better than the historian, how dearly it cost the world to become Roman.

Dec. 3d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. xvi, xvii. p. 1320—1338; which concludes the fourth book, and the whole work; a truly laborious task; undertaken by me with more ardour than it was continued with perseverance. But intervals of relaxation were pardonable. His materials are immense; his method perplexed, and his style a motley mixture of quotations from authors of all ages. My undertaking is now accomplished; and I have derived from it much useful knowledge, which will not be easily forgotten. I have already remarked his prodigious mass of materials. In speaking of the meanest village, all the learning of antiquity and the middle ages occurs to his memory: and a passage is not more concealed from his keen eye in a legend of the tenth century, than if it stood at the head of the Æneid. Throughout, his authorities are produced, and sifted, and compared with each other; and the result of the comparison is not always to their honour. The ancients quoted often from memory. Books were scarce; maps still scarcer; and in a science where the mind is so liable to wander without the direction of the eye, error was unavoidable. Servius the commentator is often exposed to Cluverius's criticism. This pretended scholar is here stripped of his mask of counterfeit erudition. His absurd mistakes are only to be equalled by those of Appian the historian. But our author's censure spares not

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not the greatest names of ancient geography; Ptolemy, who knew the east better than the west; Strabo, who is sometimes an historian, politician, or philosopher, rather than a geographer; and Pliny, who undertakes to describe the world in thirty-seven small books; whose brevity is often obscurity, and who frequently sees by other men's eyes, and those not always to be depended upon. After so much experience of their inaccuracy, it could hardly be expected that Cluverius should maintain the infallibility of the ancients. But we may perceive in his work the same superstitious veneration for the great names of antiquity, which prevailed among his contemporaries. When no other excuse for them remains, he is sure to throw the blame on transcribers. This principle, that the true text needs only be restored, in order to restore its propriety, he applies with unwearied diligence. The great number of his corrections is only equalled by their boldness; the greater part are rash or useless; but some of them are extremely happy. The change of Athesis and Ufens into Æsis and Aufens, rescued the text of Livy from an absurdity almost inconceivable; substituted two obscure but fit names, instead of two far more illustrious, but totally misplaced; and restored the Galli Senones to their proper habitation. This correction has been adopted by Livy's editors, and admitted into the text.

Dec. 5th.]—I finished the thirty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the *Life of Richard of Cornwall, Emperor of Germany,*

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ny, by Mr. Gebauer, Professor at Gottingen. Had not this German been a subject of the king of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, would he ever have disturbed the ashes of this obscure prince, whose weak and ignorant reign was as pernicious to England as useless to Germany? Would he ever have preferred this prince to the wise king of Castile?—*Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract treats of the history of the Macedonians. It is executed with much erudition, taste, and judgment. This Universal History would be invaluable, were all its parts of the same merit. I remember with pleasure that I formed the same opinion of this article when I read it at Bath in 1751. I was then fourteen years old.—*Dissertation on the Medal of Smyrna, by M. de Boze:* replete with erudition and taste; containing curious researches on the pre-eminence of the cities of Asia.—*Researches on the Polypus, by Mr. Trembley.* A new world! throwing light on physics, but darkening metaphysics.—*Vegetius's Institutions.* This writer on tactics has good general notions; but his particular account of the Roman discipline is deformed by confusion and anachronisms.—*Theological Faults.* Who does not know them?—*Conformity between the Pagan and Catholic Rites of Worship.* Messrs. Warburton and Middleton are divided on this question. The latter thinks that the Christians copied after the Pagans. The former thinks that both followed the natural impulse of human sentiment, always prone to superstition. These two opinions are not materially

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materially different. The will must always be actuated by some motive. These rites were familiar and suitable to the Romans of the fourth century. They had renounced them with reluctance; they resumed them with pleasure.

Dec. 7th.]—I returned to my geographical collection on Italy, which had been a short time interrupted. I divide the country according to the regions of Augustus, introducing under each region the most interesting particulars that occur in the course of my reading. This collection cannot fail being much augmented by my travels in Italy; and on my return to England, I hope to be able to give a description of ancient Italy, which will be the joint result of my studies, reflexions, and observations. Such a work still remains to be written; that of Cluverius by no means supplying its place. 1. Cluverius is too diffuse. We live not in that age of industry, when studies were valued in proportion to their extent and difficulty. Our men of letters are afraid to encounter two volumes in folio. Yet those who have curiosity, cannot be contented with such meagre abridgments as enrich neither the understanding nor memory. A book holding the middle place between Cluverius and Cellarius would suit the public taste. 2. An abridgment of the former would not answer the purpose. In abridgments the proportions of the original must be preserved; and those of Cluverius are not always accurate. Without reproaching him with excessive diffuseness in some parts, and contraction even to torture in others, three objects are totally omitted, which

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which surely merited his attention: the division of the provinces by Augustus, and his successors; the great roads of Italy, and the topography of the city of Rome. Cluverius is scarcely sensible of these omissions. He was not indeed obliged to anticipate the discoveries of the present age; but it happens fortunately for a more modern writer, that it is in his power to avail himself of a more accurate knowledge of itinerary measures, and to enrich his work with the first fruits of two new discoveries, the Tuscan monuments and those of Herculaneum. 3. Latin is no longer the language even of learning, and Cluverius's Latin was never the language of taste. The public would be pleased to see his broken chain of quotations melted down by a good writer into a clear, methodical, and interesting narrative. Sometimes I would preserve, however, the very words of my authorities, when they happened to be poets whose style often forms their principal merit, and whose smiling images would enliven the dryness of geographical description. 4. I would follow Strabo rather than Pliny. To my general divisions and tables I would endeavour to give all the neatness and perspicuity possible; while I examined with the eye of a philosopher the interior of the country and the manners of its inhabitants; the productions of art and nature, as far as they were known to the ancients; the migration of tribes, their laws and character. Amidst so many interesting objects, I would seize every opportunity of investigating how far public transactions and manners were affected by local situation and climate. 5. Arrangements are arbitrary.

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trary. The method which I should follow, appears to me natural and luminous. I would place myself with Romulus on the Palatine Mount, and thus proceed to the different quarters of Rome, from the cradle of the nation to the first *pomœrium* of the city. In describing Italy, I would follow the progress of Roman conquests, and pay particular attention to its division by Augustus into regions; with this one exception, that I would separate the territory of the Sabines from Samnium, and put it at the head of Latium. By this small alteration I should reconcile the two principles of my arrangement; and the reader would easily follow the progress of Roman arms, and Livy's history. A work of this kind, well executed, would be favourably received by the public. It might enrich a bookseller, pass through ten editions, and become a classical book with students in colleges, travellers, and even men of letters. The author, however, would do wrong to value himself on a performance, which owed its whole success to the nature of the subject, industry, and method. To speak only of my own essay, the production of my youth, written in two months, and forgotten in four, yet it shews more originality of genius, than would be required for such a geographical performance. Of the two sources of literary fame, difficulty and utility, the second is the surest, though the least flattering to vanity.

Dec. 9th.]—I read the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, volume thirty-four, part first. It contains three treatises of Mr. Harris, on the subjects of art, music

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sic and painting, and happiness. He is a great admirer of Plato and Aristotle, from whom he has learned to express common-place thoughts in technical language; and an enthusiasm for the beautiful, the true, and the virtuous, which are often substituted with him for precision of ideas. These faults chiefly prevail in the first and third of those essays. The second, containing many just observations and nice distinctions, is more conformable with the taste of modern philosophy.—*Natural History of Bees, extracted from the Works of Mr. Réaumur:* written in the best taste; the choice of the subject, the refinement, copiousness, and singularity of the observations, the beauties of style and arrangement, all contribute to raise the value of this little performance.

Dec. 11th.]—I read the thirty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *An Extract from the Universal History, concerning the Life of Alexander.* A good compiler would not have expatiated on a life so well known. A few sections would have sufficed. These compilers commit the same fault with regard to Crevier's Roman History. This practice multiplies useless books, disgusts their readers, and enriches none but booksellers.—*Sermons on the Social Duties, by Doctor Delany.* This historian of David savours much of the enthusiast; but he says excellent things. His discourse against the common vice of not paying our debts, is a performance as excellent as it is new.—*Bibliothèque Françoise, by the Abbé Goujet; volumes seventh and eighth:* the continuation of

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of a curious work.—*A Letter of the Librarian of Geneva, concerning John Faustus.* This excellent correspondent of the Review clearly proves that the inventor of printing died at Paris of the plague.—*A Voyage to the North, by Mr. Outhier.* He was one of the companions of Mr. Maupertuis. This voyage, or journey, was surely useful to astronomy; but geography gained little by it.—*Dissertation on David's Curses.* The author attempts to prove that David might wish for the destruction of his enemies, and rejoice in their calamities, without offending against charity. The task is difficult, any man would fail in performing it; by a man of sense it would not have been undertaken.

Dec. 17th.]—I employed myself very ill for some days, with the *Memoirs of Abbé Montgon,* in eight volumes large 12mo. small letter, and very thick volumes. The decided patience of a German would be tired with eight large volumes which, with the greatest facility, might be reduced to an hundred pages. Whatever concerns the Abbé Montgon appears to himself to deserve the attention of all Europe. Fifty pages are consumed in a conversation with the Archbishop of Amida; one hundred pages in an intrigue between the Duchess of St. Pierre and Count Rottembourg; the other parts are in due proportion. The Abbé's enemies, I perceive, accuse him of two faults; a boundless ambition, and a suspicious temper, which was always haunting him with imaginary enemies. I am inclined to think the accusations just; and that

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Cardinal Fleury's cabal was as chimerical as that of Jurieu. Why should the Cardinal have been the Abbé's enemy? Montgon did not deserve to be the object of his vengeance, still less of his hatred or jealousy. Yet to hurt this man, the Cardinal during five years employs concealed and almost invisible instruments, and transforms into rogues or cowards the Archbishop of Amida, the Duchess of St. Pierre, the Marquis of Brancas, and the Count of Rottembourg; who, according to the Abbé, had all of them formerly been very honest people. His ambition appears very manifest. A holy ecclesiastic does not think of quitting his retreat, but with a view to become the attendant of a great king. This was an inclination which he ought to have distrusted. Before his departure, this prince remounts his throne. What had the good Abbé to do at his court? Yet he goes there, plunges into worldly affairs, and the only signs of devotion that I can discover in the sequel of his work, consist in some passages of scripture, which he applies to his enemies. I acknowledge that our Abbé followed his natural vocation. He had a turn for business; and, though too fond of minutiæ, was not deficient in address, prudence, and persuasion. The two most interesting parts of his work are, 1. The curious picture of Spain after the treaty of Vienna, which united in the closest amity two princes, who had disputed a crown with the fiercest animosity. The court of Madrid was the dupe of that of Vienna. By means of a chimerical marriage shewn in distant

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tant prospect, Austria drew vast sums from Spain, at the same time that she gained real advantages for her commerce. The Austrian ambassador, Count Konigseck, governed Spain with the authority of a first minister. His weight was so great, that he caused the council of Castile to confirm the letters patent which Charles VI. had granted to some Spaniards, creating them Grandees, in reward of their services in resisting the tyranny of the Duke of Anjou. 2. The commission granted to the Abbé shews clearly, how little dependance there can be on the renunciation made by the house of Anjou of its rights to the crown of France; and that these rights would be enforced on the first favourable opportunity. It is true that such an opportunity is much less likely to occur now than it was then. The Abbé Montgon's style is inaccurate and uninteresting; that of a man unacquainted with the beauties and rules of his own language. What strange words are *Despoticité, Stoïcité!*

Dec. 19th.]—I read *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Iter, l. i. v.* 1—664; and *l. ii. v.* 1—68. This is all that remains of a work that contained two complete books. I read it in *Burman's Edition of the Poëtæ Latini Minores, Leyden*, 1731: one of those Dutch editions, *cum notis Variorum*, in which the text only peeps out amidst a heavy mass of commentary. The 700 verses of Rutilius are spread over 200 4to. pages, crowded with the remarks of Simler, Castalio, Pithæus, Sitzmanus, and Barthius. Yet Rutilius is not a difficult author; once or twice only I should have been glad of an explana-

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tory note; I looked for it in vain, but knew commentators too well to be surprised at the disappointment. The author of this little poem lived under the Emperor Honorius, by whom he had been raised to the first employments. He was Consul, Præfectus Prætorio, or Governor of Rome: being a Gaul by birth, he embarked at Ostia the 9th of October 416, A.U.C. 1169,* to return to his native country. The account which he has left us of his voyage along the coasts of Etruria and Liguria is imperfect, concluding at the town of Luna. His work may be considered in relation, 1. to its subject; 2. its style and poetry; 3. the personal character of its author. 1. If Rutilius had lopped off the first 180 verses of his poem, the reader would not have been a loser. After briefly mentioning the object of his voyage, and his sorrow at leaving Rome, his adopted country, and the scene of his honours, he expatiates on the glory of the capital, that eternal city, to whose empire Jupiter had not assigned any limits, and which was destined to reign over all nations, and during all ages. Such a subject required a truly poetical genius; and Rutilius is only a cold declaimer, who strains his faculties to string common-place thoughts, without finding in nature and himself colours fitted to adorn his theme. This theme indeed would not have been chosen by a judicious writer; for the reign of Honorius was not a proper period for describing the greatness of Rome; a greatness

* Cl. Rutilii Iter. l. i. 183. 205.

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long since fallen to decay. A veneration, and even terror, for her name, had been supported by her antiquity and extent of empire. But the illusion was now over. The barbarians gradually knew, despised, and destroyed her. Great Britain separated from the empire; the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi overflowed the finest provinces of Spain and Gaul; and when Rutilius wrote, Alaric had already been for six years master of Rome. I acknowledge that our poet, who was sensible of these calamities, endeavours ingeniously to dissemble their disgrace; comparing them with the defeats of Allia and Cannæ, to show that Rome never suffered a reverse of fortune without rising more vigorous from the shock. But the comparison is feeble and false. Since the Punic wars, circumstances were totally changed. In the time of Rutilius, the springs of government were worn out; the national character, religion, laws, military discipline, even the seat of the empire, and the language itself, had been altered or destroyed, under the impression of time and accident. It would have been difficult to revive the empire; but even could that have been effected, it would have been the empire of Constantinople or Ravenna, rather than that of Rome. Rutilius might have felt how destitute his panegyric was of truth or probability, from the false and confused ideas excited by his personification of Rome. In the time of Virgil, this figure would have been natural. Rome, regarded as a goddess, and invoked in temples, had an existence in the opinion of the multitude

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as well as in the fancy of poets. As the mother of the citizens, and the mistress of the provinces, her name recalled the image of her empire: but when this empire consisted in an assemblage of nations, subject to the same prince, Rome was no longer its sovereign; and this city, reduced to an idea merely physical, represented no longer any thing but walls, temples, and houses, built on seven hills and on the banks of the Tiber. The remainder of Rutilius's voyage is stamped with a higher value. The objects which he describes have not only more simplicity, but also more reality; and as they were observed with attention, they are painted with those colours of truth and nature, which always distinguish the result of experience from the fruit of study and invention. By a distinct and easy road he conducts us along the coast of Etruria, which was become almost a desert; he points out the ruins of cities, the beauties of the landscape, and all those places which were distinguished either by art or nature. Our traveller forgets not the neighbouring isles; and his curiosity leads him more than once into the interior of the country. The dryness of a didactic poem is occasionally enlivened by digressions either immediately, or not too remotely connected with the subject;* such as the character of the Lepidi, the discovery of the use of iron, the Jewish religion, and the Christian monks. He is worthy of commendation for not giving to his narrative, serious as it is, too much of the marvellous; which never becomes a poem,

* I except his invective against Stilico, l. ii. v. 41.

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where the author is his own hero. The marvellous is pleasing to our fancy, but is rejected by our reason. When we consider that conditional faith and imperfect delusion with which we are affected in works of fiction, it should seem as if there was a conflict of two hostile powers, by which the mind is kept in a state of suspense, that can only be maintained by distance and obscurity, and an air of mystery hanging over either the actor or the author. When the poet unites both characters in his own person, we are disposed to examine his narrative by the maxims of experience; and our voluntary delusion cannot, without the greatest difficulty, be supported.

2. Rutilius's voyage is read with pleasure; it is interesting and useful; but why was it written in verse? Poetry seems equally to misbecome the subject and the genius of the author. The narrative of a voyage comes very properly from a philopher, a man of parts, or a fine writer, but has no connexion with verse. When we attempt to adorn with numbers a subject plain and simple, it is scarcely possible that our style should not be either unpoetical or improper. The subject requires ease, perspicuity, precision, and some ornaments introduced seasonably, and with a sparing hand. But the poet, in order to affect his reader with enthusiasm, must first feel it himself; he must aim at energy of expression and harmony of numbers; and be willing to sacrifice to them all beauties of an inferior order. The language of poetry suits only those strong passions of the soul, by which it was originally produced; and he who attempts

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to employ this language on topics which leave the mind in tranquillity, will find himself between two rocks, on one of which he must be shipwrecked; the brilliancy of his expression will either misbecome the simplicity of his thoughts, or the tameness of his words and phrases will disgrace the dignity of verse. All these reflexions are applicable to Rutilius's voyage. His thoughts are ingenious, artfully arranged, and expressed with clearness, precision, and taste. But his poetry is mean and creeping, destitute of strength, and devoid of harmony. We see that he distrusts his natural vigour, and has recourse to contrivances of art; contrivances weak and common, scarcely pardonable in great authors, and for which they seldom stand in need of pardon. 1. Rutilius seems to have thought that swelling words, which best filled the mouth, were also most pleasing to the ear. But I wish such words were resigned to Oriental poets, of whom only they are not unworthy. I doubt whether *Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus** be ever quoted, except on account of the singularity that two words should compose a pentameter verse. 2. He is bold even to licentiousness in forming new words, or giving new combinations to the old. What can be more forced than using *connubium* for *consilium*?† I am pleased however with his epithet *legiferi*, applied to the Roman triumphs. Laws, order, and civilitywere produced by those triumphs, and were their ordinary fruits. 3. I

* Rutil. Iter. l. i. 450. † Idem, l. i. 18.

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thought that I had discovered some rhymes,* but they are too few to enable us to determine whether they ought to be ascribed to negligence, or were the effect of that bad taste, which the corruption of language and connexion with the barbarians, who were fond of rhyme, gradually introduced among the Romans.

3. Authors describe themselves in their works: a maxim as true as it is ancient. We may add that the shades which appear in the picture, certainly were to be found in the original. The character of Rutilius appears to me to have been amiable. I perceive a love for his country, especially in its adversity; a heart susceptible of friendship, and a tender and respectful regard for the memory of his father. Are so many good qualities to suffer a total eclipse from a little too much va nity? Rutilius reviews the stages of his greatness with complacence; his country, his friends, and his father, are endeared to him by their connexion with his own honours. His vanity is contemptible. Cicero boasted not of being consul, but of saving the republic in his consulship. Men may be more easily pardoned for being proud of their actions and talents, than for valuing themselves on their employments and titles, the vain and frivolous distinctions of society. Rutilius detested the Jews, and despised the monks. Was this in *him* a crime? I could wish indeed that his feelings had been expressed with more philosophical moderation, and

* Rutil. Iter. l. i. 39. 107, &c.

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had rested on a better principle. But he was a Pagan who beheld his religion sinking under the weight of years, and involving the empire in its fall. The Christians insulted the decline of his sect, which they endeavoured to hasten by persecution. A little bad humour was excusable. Nothing can be more animated than his description of the monks in the isle of Capraria, or more judicious than the reflexions with which it is accompanied. The folly of these monks is extreme, in thinking that God took pleasure in the sufferings of his creatures: but their conduct was conformable with their principles. Had Rutilius lived in the twelfth century, what would he have said of their successors, who availed themselves of their voluntary poverty and humility, to acquire the esteem of the multitude, and of that esteem to appropriate to themselves temporal power, and half the riches of Europe?

Dec. 20th.]—I read the *Journal des Savans*, for the months of January, February, and March, 1763. I can hardly express how much I am delighted with this Journal; its characteristics are erudition, precision, and taste; but what I most admire is that impartiality and candour which distinguish the beauties and defects of a work, giving to the former due and hearty praise, and calmly and tenderly pointing out the latter. This Journal, the father of all the rest, is still their superior: of late it must have acquired the help of some new labourers. I should like to know the author of an excellent piece, an analysis and criticism of the new tragedy of *Zelmire*. There is nothing to be wished

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wished for in this Journal but a little more boldness and philosophy; but it is published under the Chancellor's eye.

Dec. 23d.]—I read two detached pieces of Virgil, of great importance in geography. The first is the review of Turnus's army, l. vii. v. 641—817: the second, an account of the succours which Æneas received from Etruria, lib. x. v. 163—214.*

24th.]—I read with the same design the review of the Roman army by Silius Italicus, before the battle of Cannæ; Bell. Punic. lib. vii. v. 334—623. I read it over again, rather to engrave it on my memory, than to please my fancy.†

25th.]—I read the *fifth Satire of the first Book of Horace*, containing his journey to Brundusium. Geography rather than poetry was my object. This satire gave occasion to some reflexions on the journies of the ancients in general, which I have collected,‡ and from which the reader will see with how little foundation Mr. Addison estimates the ordinary day's journey of a Roman nobleman at fourteen miles.

26th.]—I read several dissertations in the *twenty-sixth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, relative to my present pursuit.—*Memoirs of Mr. d'Anville on the Roman Mile*, p. 346—362. The result is drawn by this learned man from a number of particular miles measured on the Æmilian way, and in the neighbourhood of Milan. He makes the Roman mile 756 fathoms

* See vol. iv. p. 327, &c. † Ib. p. 333.

‡ These reflexions will be found in vol. iv. p. 335, &c.

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long.—*Remarks on some Points of Ancient Geography, by Mr. de la Nauze*, p. 362—397. He treats, 1. Of the distance between Rome and Aricia: it was certainly 16 Roman miles, or 128 stadia. Though Strabo makes it 160 stadia, this must be imputed either to his ignorance, or the fault of his transcribers, and by no means to his reckoning by a particular stadium in the neighbourhood of Rome. 2. Pliny agrees with Strabo in making the distance from Hydruntum to the coast of Epirus 50 Roman miles. 3. There were two kinds of stadia; the ancient of ten, and the modern of eight, to a Roman mile. This distinction is a necessary one, but unfortunately it only substitutes uncertainty for difficulty. 4. Until the time of Augustus, the miles were reckoned from the gates of Rome; and the first mile-stone only denoted the commencement of a mile; but when that prince erected the gilt pillar in the Forum, the mile-stone at the gates denoted the end of a mile; but that mile depended on the distance of the Forum from the several gates, and contained two or three miles.

Dec. 27th.]—I read the *Abbé Barthelemy's Memoir on the Ancient Monuments of Rome, in the twenty-sixth volume, p. 579—611, of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.* It is replete with taste, erudition, and good sense; worthy of this amiable scholar, whom I knew well at Paris. I was present last year at the public meeting of the Academy, after the Easter holidays. The Abbé was to read a discourse on the Coptic. This was

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was known beforehand; and every body blamed the choice of so thorny a subject, that was fitter to be discussed at the Academy's private meetings. But our pleasure was heightened by surprise, when we perceived that the Abbé rendered his subject interesting to his audience of people of fashion and women, by the beauties of his style, the delicacy of his criticisms, and his principles of reasoning as perspicuous as they were solid.

Dec. 30th.]—There remained for me nothing to read concerning the ancient geography of Italy, except the books of Strabo on that subject. I read l. iv. p. 139—144, and l. v. p. 145—157, in Xylander's Latin translation revised by Casaubon. Strabo there treats of Venetia, Cisalpine Gaul, the Alps, Liguria, Etruria, and Umbria.

31st.]—I read *Strabo's Geography*, l. iv. p. 157—173, and l. vi. p. 174—199; having skipped over that part which relates to Sicily. I have always been an admirer of Strabo's good sense, and variety of knowledge. Antiquity has left us more brilliant performances than his; but I know of none more solid and more useful.

Jan. 1st, 1764.]—In the month of January I began to read Ovid's Fasti, in the Dauphin edition. Purposing to add the study of medals and antiquities to that of geography, I thought this didactic poem, containing the whole Roman mythology, would be a good introduction to those pursuits. As a poem, this work by no means corresponds to the favourable opinion which I had conceived of it, from the commendations of ancient and modern critics;

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critics; but this is not the place for considering it in that light. The edition is that of Crispin, a Swiss, in the service of the Dauphin. Bishop Huet had good reason to complain of negligence in selecting competent persons for executing M. de Montausier's excellent design. This edition is handsome, well-printed, and carefully corrected. The bookseller has done his part well; but this is far from being the case with the editor. His notes are below criticism. They are fit only for a school boy, who would often be bewildered by their absurdity. To render them completely ridiculous, they wanted only a copious apparatus of morality, and even of theology, as a fit appendage to the poem of a Pagan and a libertine. The author has taken care to supply that defect. His explanation might have been useful, had he substituted common for uncommon words; and simple for poetical phrases. But Crispin's interpretation is at once swollen and prosaic; equally unfit for displaying Ovid's beauties, and for making his meaning understood. It has been justly remarked, that those enormous indexes, which commonly make a fourth part of the Dauphin editions, ought to have been employed in pointing out the delicacies and idioms of the language or author, and not in enumerating how many times he uses *et* and *qui* in their common signification. Mr. Crispin has prefixed an ancient calendar to the Fasti: he confesses that it does not agree with Ovid's; he had not time to reconcile them. Every thing disgusts us in this edition, even to the mode of reference; which is

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to the page, and not to the book; which prevents the possibility of verifying the quotations.

I read four volumes of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée;* the 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th. Not having the 36th at hand, and retaining but a confused notion of its contents, I shall speak only of one article with which I was highly pleased. This is a learned and curious *Dissertation concerning the pretended Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion.* The author insists with great force on the improbability of the fact, and the silence of contemporary writers. He investigates the origin of a fable, so useful to the church of St. Maurice in the Valley, and traces it back to Eucher, Bishop of Lyons, who lived a century and a half after Diocletian, and who first related it on the authority of a vague and obscure report. It appears that some legionary soldiers with their officer had, about that time, suffered martyrdom in Syria. But Fame, in bringing this transaction to the West, magnified them into a complete legion entirely composed of Christians.

The 37th volume contains a *Letter* concerning the food of the first men. The question is as idle as it is vague and obscure. I do not see the necessity of making them leave off vegetables so soon. The earth must have been slowly peopled with men and animals; and for a long time must have supplied all living tribes with such abundant nourishment as precluded the necessity of their devouring each other. At length, animals became formidable to man, who was in danger of starving. But

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But nothing short of urgent danger could overcome his natural repugnance to the shedding of blood. Are five or six generations sufficient for producing all these revolutions?—*Description of the East, by Mr. Pocock:* learned and curious. The houses of the first inhabitants of Egypt are still to be seen in the Thebaid, in the hollows of rocks. Magnificence improved the works of necessity. The arts of the Egyptians bore no relation to those of Greece. The latter, harmonised by proportions, were bold and liberal; the former, enslaved by caprice, were extravagant rather than original.—*Epistolary Correspondence between Leibnitz and John Bernouilli.* It is a pleasure to contemplate these two vigorous minds: the force and depth of the one; the variety, extent, and penetration of the other.—*The History of New France, by Father Charlevoix:* well written, curious, and unfaithful.—*History of Lewis XI. by Mr. Duclos.* Lewis XI. is an uninteresting object; his age quite the reverse. But Mr. Duclos has shewn us only the prince, and neglected the history of his age. *Virgil's Georgicks, translated into English by Martyn:* useful for its knowledge of the plants mentioned by Virgil.

The 38th volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contains the *Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii.* We meet with the *Process of Nicholas Antony, burnt at Geneva in* 1632, not for inventing a new heresy, but for preferring the Jewish religion to the Christian. It forms the counterpart to the history of Servetus.—*Description of Iceland, by Mr. Anderson.*

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derson. The country and the manners of its inhabitants are equally strange: Death only can make them quit this wretched island.—*The Necessity of Public Worship, by Mr. de la Chapelle, in answer to an anonymous Letter.* Mr. de la Chapelle's adversary is a minister in the Pays de Vaud, of the name of Allamand, and never did I know a man of a finer genius. His mind embraced all kinds of learning, but philosophy was his principal study. On all questions, he had contrived systems, at least arguments, equally new and ingenious. His ideas were refined and perspicuous; his expression natural and happy. He was justly reproached with too much subtilty of thought, with pride, ambition, and excessive warmth of temper. This man, qualified to enlighten or disturb a nation, lived and died in obscurity. He left nothing in writing, excepting a few short performances in answer to questions put to him.—*Travels into Egypt, by Mr. Granger*: bold, but superficial. The canals of the ancient kings carried the waters of the Nile and fertility into all the provinces of Egypt. These canals are not kept in repair by the Turks. The country has lost its fruitfulness; and Mr. Granger gives the lie to all ancient writers, who declare that it formerly was fruitful.—A *Poem* of *Peter Ebuto*, on the *Troubles of Sicily in the Reign of the Emperor Henry VI.* published from the library of Berne by Mr. Engel. The work is curious: poetry is the history of barbarous ages; and has then all the circumstantial minuteness which history requires.—" *Letters of a Frenchman,*"

 true;

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true; " *on the English,*" false. Poor Abbé le Blanc!

The 39th volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contains a letter of the librarian of Geneva, on a singular bull of Clement VI. Singular indeed! This bull is a permission, granted in 1354, to all the confessors of all the kings of France, to grant dispensations to their sovereigns from the obligation of oaths which it might be inconvenient for them to observe. The librarian's reflexions and researches throw much light on the authenticity, the character, the object, and the style of this bull. This letter is written with moderation and taste.—*Amintor and Theodora, by Mr. Mallet.* If my friend should ever attain poetic fame, it will be acquired by this work. Mr. Maty furnished the extract, which pleased Mallet so much that he requested his friendship. This anecdote I learned from both parties.—*Travels into Western Gothland, by Mr. Linnæus; and into Siberia, by Mr. Gmelin.* These two works, the latter especially, which opens to us an unknown world, do much honour to the sovereigns of the North.—*The Works of Virgil, with the Commentaries of Heinsius and Peter Burman.* As this is the latest, so it is the best edition of Virgil and Servius.—*Haller's Poems, translated from the German*: distinguished by a rich imagination, energy of style, and an air of philosophy, which he has thought fit to lay aside.—*Theory of agreeable Sentiments, by Mr. de Pouilly.* Unity and variety are the sources of our pleasures. The idea seems to be just; but it has not

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not enough either of novelty or precision to deserve being expanded into a book. I read also *Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters*, just published. They contain an account of a journey in which she accompanied her husband in his embassy to Constantinople; and are lively and entertaining. I am most pleased with what she says concerning those inner apartments into which men are not allowed to penetrate. She maintains that the Turkish women enjoy a great deal of liberty, and walk out alone veiled, as often as they please, on pretence of going to the bath or the mosque. The Turks marry only one wife: and though some use the permission of concubinage with slaves, they are regarded as libertines, and forsaken by their wives. She studied the Turkish language; and speaks in high terms of the Turkish music and poetry. The manners, customs, and genius of the Greeks seem to her to have undergone little change since the days of Homer.

Feb. 1st.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. iv. p. 599—610.* The festival of Palilia is an object of much attention; it is different from that of the foundation of Rome, though both happened on the same day, the 21st of April. To what extravagances is not the human mind liable! Purify a nation! and that too with the blood of a horse, the husk of a bean, and the ashes of the bowels of a calf killed in the belly of its mother, and burnt on the altar of Vesta. Ovid clearly justifies the founder of Rome from the guilt of killing his brother. Remus was put to death in consequence of a wise law made by

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his brother, and which this prince unintentionally violated. If Romulus did not shew grief for his death, this was to maintain the inviolable sanctity of his laws, a thing necessary in his infant kingdom.

Feb. 2d.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. v. p.* 610—620. His account of the different etymologies of the month of May is curious, and well expressed. We may distinguish in it an Oriental allegory, a Greek fable, and a Roman tradition. The issuing of the gods from chaos, and the majesty of Olympus arranging the celestial hierarchy, is sublimely extravagant. The picture of the Muses is well delineated; but Ovid should have remembered that these infallible divinities were always of one mind.

3d.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. v. p.* 620—630. He explains the origin of the Floral games in a manner less dishonourable for his religion. It is not credible that any people should have erected altars to a harlot. It was enough for them to celebrate the festival of a goddess, in whom they already believed, by the dances of naked girls. All the ceremonies of this goddess savoured of debauchery; but the season productive of flowers too naturally inspires those with licentious sentiments who have never heard of the courtesan Flora. Why have recourse to fable for what may be found in nature?

I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. v. p.* 630—643. The poet's genius ennobles every object; even nine black beans thrown behind the back, to which he gives an air of solemnity, and even of sublimity. He chiefly employs that doubtful and faint colouring

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ing which renders objects more terrible, by shewing them partially and confusedly; silence, obscurity, the shadow which follows us with light steps, and which we dare not look behind us to see; all these touches belong to that kind of sublimity which is well pointed out by Mr. Burke.* The temple of Jupiter the Avenger must have been magnificent. The worship of the Pagans had at least more consistency than that of the Catholics. Mars the Avenger punishes the murderers of a great warrior, his descendant. This is more natural than the interference of an apostle or hermit in wars and victories; and wars often undertaken merely for worldly interests.

Feb. 6th.]—I went to the library to consult the article *Flora* in Bayle's Dictionary. Lactantius too well imitates the fathers of his age. The Floral games, founded A. U. C. 514, first celebrated occasionally, afterwards rendered annual in 580, by an order of the senate, and their expense defrayed by money levied in fines; all this has not any resemblance to the testamentary arrangement of a courtesan.

7th.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. vi. p.* 648—687, the conclusion of the book, and of all that part of the work which has come down to us. The six other books, which completed the Roman calendar, have perished. The beginning of the sixth book is beautiful. The dispute of the three goddesses is more pleasing, because borrowed from

* Upon the Sublime and Beautiful.

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that of Paris and Mount Ida. Juno's speech is also cast in the same mould with that in the first book of the Æneid; but the amiable Hebe expresses herself with those graces that are peculiar to Ovid.

Feb. 8th.]—I read a little pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, by John James Rousseau. It contains an abstract of Plato's arguments against imitative poetry, especially the drama. I was astonished at the weakness and falseness of the whole first part, which treats of the imperfection of imitation. Towards the conclusion, his reasonings are more specious. I acknowledge that the theatre, and especially that of Athens, sometimes paints its heroes too weak and too much alive to their misfortunes. But some indulgence must be granted to humanity, which groans in secret, or pours its grief into the bosom of a friend. The spectators are indeed confidents of the poet, but not of his characters.

9th.]—While I waited for the sequel of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, I read an excellent work on *the Method and Choice of our Studies, by the Abbé Fleury; Paris*, 1753, in 12*mo. pp.* 364. The whole breathes a spirit of truth and virtue, together with that clearness and strength of reason, and that superior good sense, which is more uncommon than wit, and almost as rare as genius. The author was a Roman Catholic and a priest; but this fault is perceived by those only who are neither the one nor the other. He begins by the history of education in different countries, of which he gives us a beautiful picture. That of the Greeks alone was philosophical and national. The want of an accurate

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rate education among the Romans was supplied by virtue and natural good sense. The studies of the barbarians of the North were as barbarous as themselves. To ages of ignorance succeeded those of the pretended philosophy of Aristotle, the Arabs and scholastics. The humanists of the fifteenth century revived the knowledge of the ancients. From all these united, is composed that chaos of learning taught in our universities and colleges, alike destitute of system, order, and utility. The Abbé Fleury, who wishes to bring down science from the heavens to the earth, proposes a plan equally short and reasonable, the care of the body and the mind, with the knowledge of economy and laws. A Frenchman justly reckons history and politics among those studies which are rather curious than useful. The citizen of a free country regards them as indispensable. To this treatise the Abbé Fleury has added *a Discourse on Plato*. He despises both his physics and metaphysics; but sets the highest value on his logic, morals, style, and method.

Feb. 10th.]—I read over with care the six books of *Ovid's Fasti;* and have written the reflexions, which occurred to me in the perusal. See Vol. IV. p. 354.

11th.]—I began to read *Mr. Addison*'s charming little *Treatise on ancient Medals*, in the third volume of his Works, *London*, 1746. I read p. 1—113. He considers the different advantages that may be derived from the study of medals; and dwells on the striking connexion between their

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reverses and the descriptions of Latin poets. In this view, he examines two series of medals; the one containing allegorical personages, and the other enigmatic symbols. Each class furnishes him with twenty examples. The passages of the poets are selected with taste; and the author's reflexions are replete with judgment and sagacity. No man ever benefited more than Mr. Addison by the study of the Belles Lettres. His works have much contributed to improve the English language and literature.

Feb. 12th.]—I finished *Addison*'s work, *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of ancient Medals; p.* 113—167: besides which, the plates take up sixty-eight pages. The third series of examples contains the representation of countries on medals: it is curious. Mr. Addison has a third dialogue, in which the parallel is drawn between ancient and modern medals; rather flattering for the ancients. In the first dialogue, the author sets out well; his characters are well marked; and the whole has the air of a free conversation among polite and learned friends: but the two following dialogues might as well have been called letters or essays. Pope's epistle is worthy of himself; but the inscription on his imaginary medal of Craggs, filling six verses, would not have been relished by Addison.* It is a bad compliment to a didactic work, to violate, in commending it, the most important precept which it contains.

* V. Dialog. iii. p. 154—156.

I began

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I began *Spanheim*'s noble work *de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum, in two volumes, 4to. Amsterdam.* This is not the best edition; but I make use of it till I receive that of London, 1708, from Geneva. I read the *Preface* and *Dissertation I. p.* 1—49, on the beauty and entertainment of medallic knowledge: and *Dissertation II. p.* 49—68, on the assistance which it may afford to grammarians in ascertaining the letters and orthography of ancient languages. I finished some reflexions on *Ovid's Fasti.* See Vol. IV. p. 354.

Feb. 13th.]—I wrote some remarks concerning the allegorical personages on medals. See Vol. V. p. 35.

I read *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p.* 68—93. It contains the sequel of his grammatical observations. They are curious, but rather dry. Spanheim forgets his politeness in refuting Tristan. The latter's mistake indeed was a most absurd one.

I finished the fortieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Dr. Middleton's Treatise on the Roman Senate.* The question concerning the mode of entering into the Roman senate appears to me capable of an easy answer. The nomination belonged successively to the kings, consuls, and censors. But as they always named the questors, their right of naming gradually became of less value as the questors became more numerous, and was reduced to a mere formality, when their number became sufficient to supply that of the senate.

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nate.—*History of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swedish.* This is a new country. Two thousand years ago the mountains of Sweden, as well as those of Denmark, stood in an archipelago of little islands intersected by canals and straits. The sea retired, and still continues to retire, the space of fifty inches, each century. It is thought also that the ocean, which covered a far greater surface towards the beginning of the Roman empire, opened a communication with the Caspian Sea. This circumstance, and a climate milder than the present, facilitated the emigrations of the Scythians. Their most celebrated colony travelled to the North in the year of J. C. 100, under the conduct of Odin, a Scythian from the banks of the Tanais. This legislator of the North resided at Upsal, the seat of his religion and empire. His successors, both kings and priests, were masters of a fine country, and respected by the other kings of the nation. They reigned at Upsal till A. C. 870. Their family was not extinct in Norway till 1060.

Feb. 15th.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum, Dissert. II. p.* 93—112: and found it a tiresome declamation on the morality and policy to be learned from medals; in which the author has contrived to introduce all the technical medallic terms. Why does he justify the senate for removing the only check that remained on the tyranny of the emperors? They praised them, he says, to shew to them the road of virtue and glory. This excuse was good in the first year of Domitian's reign; but was good for nothing in the

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the fifteenth. Besides, what new praise was kept in reserve for Trajan?

Feb. 16th.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p.* 112—122. He describes the advantages which natural history may derive from medals. I saw with pleasure the proof of what I had said in my Essay on the subjects of the Circus and Amphitheatre.

I finished the forty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Anson's Voyage, first and second Extract.* I know few books that are more amusing; but the hero is painted in too flattering colours. When afterwards raised to the first employments of state, he was unable to support the weight of his renown. One praise indeed belongs to him, that of choosing and employing merit. Brett, Saunders, Rodney, and Keppel are among those whom he brought forward and educated.—*Mr. le Moine's Treatise on Miracles.* Such a work tends to injure the cause of religion which it endeavours to support. How ill qualified are we to ascertain the powers of nature, and of angels! Do we know exactly the extent of those belonging to our fellow-creatures?—*Morals.* The enemies of Revelation can no longer be accused of hostility to natural religion. Poor Toussaint is now the editor of the Brussels Gazette. Strange employment for a philosopher!—*Penelope's Web, or Machiavel Physician, by Mr. de la Metrie:* a severe, ingenious, and learned satire against the faculty in Paris, particularly Astruc, Sylva, Chirac, and Winslow.

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Feb. 17th.]—This morning was lost, except that I found time to read *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. III. p.* 166—196. He continues the same subject; panthers, serpents, dolphins. The part respecting serpents, those ministers of oracles, and tutelary genii, is particularly curious.

18th.]—In the evening I read a tale in verse, which was lent to me, just published by Voltaire. *What most pleases Women?* Command. The design is borrowed from Pope's Wife of Bath. The narrative is rather diffuse, and the verses have not that natural ease and briskness which is an essential requisite. I borrowed at the same time *the Panegyric of the Duke of Sully, by Mr. Thomas:* a performance which gained the prize proposed by the French Academy.

19th.]—Instead of continuing Spanheim, I resumed my *Geographical Collection on Italy*, which I wish to put out of hand. I wrote two pages and an half of it, on Etruria.

I finished *Sully's Panegyric.* Mr. Thomas is a great orator. What strength of thought, what rapidity of style! He has the soul of a citizen, the sense of a philosopher, and the pencil of a great painter. His manner is that of Demosthenes, but of Demosthenes who has sacrificed to the graces. United with the pomp of eloquence, we find an accurate detail of particulars, which are never minute when they are well chosen and well expressed; and that historical truth which always embellishes the panegyric of every man entitled to public praise.

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praise. The parallel of Sully with Colbert is not drawn with flattery, scarcely with equity, towards the former. Mr. Thomas dwells too long on the comparison of the difficulties which these two ministers had respectively to encounter. The horrors of the League, forty years of civil war, enthusiasm and independence in the public mind, and eight hundred millions of debt; these were difficulties incomparably greater than the caprices of the Fronde, some extortions on the part of Cardinal Mazarine, a nation destitute of either principles or leaders of rebellion, and long weary of domestic disturbances. Mr. Thomas does not always remember that a panegyric ought to hold the middle place between a history and a funeral oration. Perhaps the strength and sublimity of his style, replete with images as bold as they are natural, might have enabled him to dispense with comparisons, apostrophes, and all those figures, which more properly belong to poetry. I am certain he would have done well to omit his comparison of Sully's operations with those of eternal wisdom; a species of false sublime which can only tend to degrade both the compared objects.

Feb. 20th.]—I wrote a page and a half of my *Geographical Collection* on the Tiber, and the rivers which flow into it.

I finished the forty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* If we consider only *Mr. Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay,* the existence of a north-west passage will appear very doubtful. Be that as it may, the Company will always endeavour to prevent

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prevent its discovery.—*An Essay, by Mr. Deslandes, on the Marine of the Ancients.* The ancients never made use of any but trireme gallies, that is, vessels with three tire of oars of different lengths. The quadriremes, &c. had decks above these barns of oars, provided with machines of war; but they had only three tire of oars.—*Maclaurin's Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries.* A work admired by all mathematicians. I hope to be able at some future time to bestow on it enlightened approbation.—*Narrative of a Voyage to Peru, by Mr. Boucher.* The Cordilleras form the highest chain of mountains in the world. The top of Chimboraco is 3217 fathoms above the sea: at the height of 2400 the snow never melts. The province of Quito, though a valley in the Cordilleras, is the highest inhabited country known. Subsisting monuments still attest the former greatness of the Incas. We yet behold the vestiges of the causeway extending 400 leagues from Cusco to Quito.—*The Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi.* contains the sequel of a work distinguished by the spirit of sound philosophy. From the axiom that the Eternal Being is all-sufficient in himself, a religion is deduced, free from superstition, contradictions, and eternal punishments.—*Travels in Turkey and Persia, by Mr. Otter:* curious, but dry.—*The Happy Life, by Mr. de la Metrie:* the work of a fool, whose laughter is poisonous.—*Remarks on Bayle's Dictionary.* Intolerant superstition is more dangerous than impiety.

Feb. 24th.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geo-*

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Geographical Collection, on the subject of Umbria. I begin to put the materials in order, belonging to each region of Italy, which will be of much use to me. I finished the forty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Leibnizii Protogea:* a posthumous work of this great man, on the original structure of the earth. Chaos first reigned; a conflagration melted the mass; and different substances acquired different degrees of hardness from fluid water to vitrified gems, in proportion to the time they were in cooling.—*The History of the Office of Stadtholder, and of the Parliament of England, by the Abbé Raynal.* The pictures which he draws are filled with pretty antitheses.—*The History of Jovian, and the Translation of some Works of Julian, by the Abbé de la Bleterie:* admirable, in point of erudition, taste, elegance, and I will add, moderation. Julian was a Pagan, but the Abbé hates only the Jesuits.—*The Spirit of Laws.* What occasion was there to speak of it here?—*Lord Bolingbroke's Patriot King.* This lord had strength and elevation of mind; but he was a sorry philosopher.—*Middleton's Free Inquiry into the Miracles, &c.* This man was endowed with penetration and accuracy. He saw where his principles led; but he did not think proper to draw the consequences.

Feb. 26th.]—I wrote three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the subject of *Samnium.* I have now finished the country of the Sabines, and a part of the territories of the Marsi.

27th.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter *Samnium*

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nium in my *Geographical Collection*, describing the lake *Fucinus*, and the countries of the *Equi* and *Peligni*.

I also read *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. III. p.* 196—245. He treats of fabulous animals, the sphinx, hydra, sirenes, the birds of Stymphalus, the phœnix, &c. We may perceive that the genius of the Greeks, romantic as it was, employed itself rather in embellishment than invention. The sphinx was originally an Ethiopian ape, which the inhabitants of Thebais chose for the symbol of mystery, and placed at the gates of their temples.

Feb. 28th.]—I read in *Spanheim* only *Dissert. III. p.* 245—253. He treats of monsters and hieroglyphics, whose names are unknown.

I finished the forty-fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Bower's Lives of the Popes; first and second Extract.* The beginnings of Christian Rome are at least as obscure and fabulous as those of the Pagan. The author is reproached with making a partial and ill-digested compilation of papal biography. He is a rogue unmasked, who enjoyed, for twenty years, the favour of the public, because he had quitted a sect to which he still secretly adhered; and because he had been a counsellor of the inquisition in the town of Macerata, where an inquisition never existed.—*The free Voice of a Citizen.* When a king of Poland writes on the constitution of his country, we should not expect to find the trite topics of a rhetorician, or the speculative dreams of a pedant.

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—*A Treatise on Systems, by the Abbé Condillac:* judicious, and abounding with fine thoughts; but the Abbé sometimes confounds theory and truths flowing from a few general principles, with those practical arts which require talents and experience, and which from their nature are liable to great uncertainty.—*The Toleration of the Asiatics:* truths common and important, expressed with much boldness.—*The Art of hatching Eggs, &c. by Mr. Réaumur.* That proposed is sure and easy. This author will make me in love with natural history. How extraordinary an instinct is that of the chicken, which employs itself half a day in the difficult work of its own birth!—*Essay on Moral Philosophy, by Mr. Maupertuis.* No; you are not able to make me hate life.

The Eloge of Mr. Schultens. This learned man preferred the Jews too much to the Arabians.

March 1st.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p.* 253—265. From animals, he proceeds to plants, and particularly the lotus, with which the Egyptian medals often crown their kings, gods, and sacred animals.

2d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p.* 265—310. He still treats of the plants represented on medals.

I finished the forty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Edmond's Negotiations,* published by *Dr. Birch:* curious, in as far as it relates to the character, last years, and death of Queen Elizabeth.—*Memoirs of Brandenburgh.* They are well written; but the memoirs of the

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author himself—how impatiently do I expect them!—*Treatise on Ice, by Mr. Mairan:* judicious and profound. I perceived, as well as the journal-writer, that causes ought not to be multiplied without necessity; and that fire set in motion is sufficient without the subtile matter.—*Natural History, by Mr. de Buffon:* a great painter, and an original genius. The reviewer endeavours to defend the deluge; but confesses that shells are found in the mountains only at the elevation of six hundred feet.—*A Collection of Pieces of Eloquence of the French Academy:* vox et præterea nihil.—*The History of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swedish, Vol. ii.* Superstition and clerical power reached the highest pitch in Sweden. At the time of their conversion, the Swedes adopted the whole papal system, and became Christians after the fashion of the twelfth century. They could not plead the authority of any ancient traditions; their history furnished them not with any argument against the Roman faith, and their ignorance hindered them from seeking such arguments in the history of other nations, in reason, or in scripture.—*Parallel of the Arundelian Marbles with the Egyptian Chronicles.* I perceive that the author, the Abbé Richer du Bouchet, has a great contempt for these marbles; and that he is deep in Manethon. All his discoveries are connected with a general system of chronology, which he does not explain. I do not expect much from it.

March 3d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p.* 310—340; and *Dissert. V. p.* 340—344. He concludes

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cludes the article of plants; I am glad of it; they are but little connected with medals: Spanheim was not a botanist, nor do I wish to become one. I have now finished the most interesting part of his work. The second dissertation is dry, but useful: his declamations on morals and politics might be reduced to ten pages; and from the two last dissertations I would select only a few facts, cleared from all circumstances foreign to the subject.

March 4th.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p.* 344—373. This part is replete with erudition, and enters into many curious particulars concerning the horns which adorn the head of Ammon, Juno, Bacchus, Rivers, Alexander, and his successors.

5th.]—I glanced over *the New Aretin.* Gross ignorance, blackguard buffoonery, and impertinent reasonings, which have not even the merit of novelty, disgrace this wretched performance, which would be thrown by with disgust, did it not attack religion with the most shocking indecency.

6th.]—I finished the forty-sixth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Suetonius, by Oudendorp.* The edition is good, but unnecessary after that of Grævius. Why are the excellent commentaries of Torrentius and Casaubon omitted? —*Memoirs of Queen Christina:* a curious work, and of immense industry.—*Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburgh.* All the institutions of the Russians ought to be well contrived, and skilfully proportioned. They may be made at one cast,

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from models highly improved among their neighbours.—*A New Historical and Critical Dictionary, by Mr. de Chaufepié:* the learning and accuracy of Bayle, without his philosophy and genius.

March 9th.]—I wrote three pages and an half of my *Geographical Collection.* I have now finished the chapter on *Samnium,* by a complete abridgment of what concerns the *Samnites* and the Duchy of *Beneventum.* I have also begun the chapter on *Apulia;* and finished the first division, viz. the territory of the *Hirpini.*

10th.]—I wrote nearly four pages of my *Geographical Collection;* containing the remainder of *Apulia.* There is a pretty extensive article on *Tarentum.*

I finished the forty-seventh volume of *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Critical Memoirs on the Swiss, by Mr. de Bochart;* turning on the vain and futile science of etymology.—*Wetstein's New Testament.* The Alexandrian manuscript appears to have been written in Egypt towards the end of the fifth century.—*Letters on Jubilees, by Mr. Le Chais:* learned and philosophical.—*Monogamy, by Mr. de Premontval.* Why should religion be introduced into a question depending on calculation and circumstances?—*Defence of Christianity, by Dr. Stebbing.* He is a good polemic, but embraces too wide a field; the outermost works should be relinquished.—*Moses defended against Appian, by the Abbé Richer du Bouchet.* He still throws an air of mystery over his chronological system. I speak

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speak not decidedly, but to me he appears a little of a visionary. 1. He speaks of the Egyptian dynasties as he would of the court of Lewis XIV.; shewing too much confidence and certainty on a subject, which admits only of probability and conjecture. 2. When he investigates the key to Manethon's historical fragment, he quits the road of criticism, but gives us to understand that this knot can be unravelled only by geometrical analysis. Does not this savour of madness? 3. Esau and Osiris! Their identity, I see, is the foundation of his system. How easily might it be refuted! No two princes, if Osiris was really a prince, had ever less resemblance.

March 11th.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter on *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection;* comprehending almost the whole of *Lucania* properly so called.

12th.]—I wrote two pages on the chapter of *Lucania,* comprehending the rest of proper *Lucania* and a part of *Bruttium.*

13th.]—I wrote only three quarters of a page of my chapter on *Lucania,* being a continuation of *Bruttium.*

14th.]—I read a new work by Voltaire; *Treatise on Toleration.* The end is commendable; to awaken in the soul the feelings of humanity, and display the dreadful consequences of superstition. But in point of execution this work is a trifling collection of common-place remarks, in which the author expatiates rather on every other topic than the great principles belonging to his subject. I

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am diverted with his false and contradictory conclusions concerning ancient history. This history, he says, is filled with prodigies. They cannot be true; therefore ancient history consists merely of fables and conjectures.* Again, this history is filled with prodigies: we are obliged to believe them; therefore the principles of nature, as well as of men, were quite different then from what they are at present.† He calls in question the infamous debaucheries of Tiberius in the island of Capreæ. Yet Tacitus and Suetonius were almost the contemporaries of that prince. I perceive not any marks of hatred in their works. They often justify Tiberius, and distinguish with as much penetration as honesty the different stages of the dissimulation, cruelty, and public debaucheries of that emperor. The abominable licentiousness of those times is well known; and it is not matter of surprise that Tiberius should refuse nothing to his appetites, when he had the unbounded power of gratifying them with impunity, especially when they were concealed by his retirement from the public eye, which is the only restraint on the behaviour of a despot. As for those refinements in debauchery which astonish Voltaire, it is precisely in an old profligate of seventy that I should expect to meet with them.‡

March 15th.]—I finished the forty-eighth volume

* Traité sur la Tolérance, c. ix. N. c. p. 71—75.

† Idem, c. xii. p. 127—129.

‡ Idem, c. viii. p. 59—63.

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of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the *Discoveries made at Herculaneum, by the Marquis Venuti.* This ancient city, which deserved to be examined more accurately and faithfully, was found at the depth of seventy-three feet under many successive beds of earth and vitrified stone. Herculaneum was but an obscure place; yet it was adorned by a theatre three hundred feet in circumference, raised on brick pilasters, covered with a beautiful varnish, and ornamented with cornices of marble.—*Letters on Jubilees.* It is difficult to distinguish with theologians between the defilement of sin and its punishment. In the church of the Feuillans at Paris, indulgences may be procured, in the space of one Lent, for 150,000 years.—*Essay on Spirit.* This work of the Bishop of Clogher contains a metaphysical Arianism.—*Dissertation on the Chronology of Usher.* The Abbé Richer again. This man is a fool. Wherefore so much rage against the Jews and Protestants in treating a question of criticism? He rejects the chronology of the Jews, because it came from the school of Tiberias, and is approved by a Protestant bishop.

March 16th.]—I wrote a page of the chapter of *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection;* it is the continuation of *Bruttium.*

17th.]—I wrote a page and an half of my chapter on *Lucania,* concerning *Magna Græcia:* after which I went to the library to read Freret's learned researches on the first inhabitants of Italy; *Me-*

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moirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xviii. p. 72—114.

March 18th.]—I wrote a page and an half of the chapter entitled "*Nations,*" in my *Geographical Collection;* it treats of the first communities in Italy.

19th.]—I wrote a page and an half on the chapter "*Nations,*" concerning the first communities in Italy.

I finished the forty-ninth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Letters on the Use of the Pronoun Thou, by Mr. Vernet:* I am inclined to think both *thou* and *you* ought to be used.—*Considerations on Morals, by Mr. Du Clos.* The work is in general good: some chapters treating of the connexion of genius with character are excellent. Du Clos, before he was secretary of the academy, had been that of the coffee-house; where he carefully treasured up the conversations of men of wit.—*The Roman History of Dion Cassius, by Messrs. Fabricius and Raimar;* an excellent edition. *Maupertuis's Works;* and *Appeal to the Public, by Mr. Kenig.* In his own works, Maupertuis appears only as an extravagant visionary, whose fame rests not on any solid basis. In his dispute with Kenig he is a cowardly persecutor, who employs the secular arm to crush one of his colleagues.—*The Spirit of Nations:* a wretched imitation.—*The Treasury of Imperial Medals, by Morel, with the Commentaries of Gori and Havercamp:* what riches!—*Wetstein's New Testament.*

In

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In a dispute which the Franciscans had with John XXII. they first gave that explanation of the Revelations, which makes the Pope Antichrist. Numerous swarms of those monks left their convents, and embraced Luther's reformation. They spread this Capuchin notion among the Protestants.

March 20th.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, which finishes the chapter on the *Nations of Italy*.

21st.]—I wrote four pages of the chapter *Campania* in my *Geographical Collection*. They treat of *the Division of that Country and Latium proper*.

I finished the fiftieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains, *Essay on the Nature and Office of Sacrificer*. The Christian clergy have perhaps succeeded only to the philosophers and prophets, who taught morality; and not to the priests, who performed sacrifices and other parts of the ceremonial law.—*Scarron's Works*. His comic Romance alone will live: in other parts of his works, the wit is rather in the style than in the thought. At best, it results from the contrast between his character and situation.—*St. Clement's two Epistles, in Syriac and Latin. Dissertation on two Epistles, &c.* Dr. Lardner disputes Mr. Wetstein's discovery of this monument of the first Christians. *Sub judice lis est.* St. Clement's ideas on celibacy are carried, I perceive, to great extravagance. But even *they* are natural to the enthusiasm of a rising and persecuted sect! If these epistles are authentic, St. John must have written his

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his Gospel a long time before the old age of Clement, who was only in his thirtieth year in A. D. 60.

It is a great convenience to have always at hand some book containing easy and interesting productions, that may be read by snatches, at moments which would otherwise be lost. Nothing answers this end better than a good journal; which title the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* certainly merits. It may be divided however into two parts, of nearly equal extent, but of completely different characters. The first part is adapted to the taste for true learning which prevailed in the seventeenth century; containing a great deal of theology, jurisprudence, and Belles Lettres; erudition drawn from the source, and mixed with sound criticism. The spirit of religious controversy is rather too prevalent; and we are disgusted with too much minuteness, or provoked at too much asperity. The second part of the journal has more affinity with the taste at present; uniting much indifference about theology, with superficiality of learning, and boldness in philosophy; its tone is dogmatical, and its style more broken into short sentences and more metaphorical.

March 22d.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, containing *A Description of the Countries of the Rutuli and Hernici*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

23d.]—I wrote near three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the countries of the *Volsci* and

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and *Ausones*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

March 24th.]—I wrote a page of my chapter on *Campania*, which is the beginning of *Campania proper*.

25th.]—I wrote about three pages, finishing the chapter on *Campania*, and inserting some detached materials into other chapters.

26th.]—I wrote nearly three pages of my chapter on *Rome*.

27th.]—I wrote more than a page and an half of my chapter on *Rome*.

28th.]—I wrote more than two pages of the chapter on *Rome*.

29th.]—I wrote two pages on the *Itineraries and high Roads of the Romans*: and stop short at present with a rich fund of ninety-two folio pages closely written. My travels in Italy, with my future studies, will swell this collection to such a magnitude, that it will be necessary for me only to arrange my materials to have a complete description of Italy.

30th.]—I resumed the perusal of *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum*; of which I read *Dissert. V. p.* 373—436. He treats of the medals of kings, particularly the successors of Alexander, and the epithets bestowed on them—friends to the Romans or Greeks; victorious; thunderers; great kings; king of kings; autocrator, or possessor of independent power; the name of God in general; and the particular names of Bacchus, of God the Saviour, or Soter; and of God manifested on earth, Epi-

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Epiphanes, which is not fully translated by "illustrious."—All these medals are Greek. We have not any other medals of Barbarian kings, but those struck by the Greek cities in their dominions.

I read *Piron's Comedy, Metromanie*, which there was an intention of acting at Mon Repos. The versification is beautiful, and many of the sentiments correct and well expressed. This applies to the whole scene between Mr. Ballivau and Damis. But I never read any thing worse contrived than the plot. There is much confusion in that part which regards the lovers Dorante and Lucile. The part of Damis is diverting, but unnatural. Where is it possible to find a poet that will resign a rich and handsome mistress for another that has no existence but in Mercury? What an extravagant attempt is it, to endeavour to render the character of this poet at once heroical and ridiculous! Compare together his scene with his uncle and that with his valet. I know that in Molière's masterpiece, the Misanthrope is at once ridiculous and respectable. But this happens because his faults consist in virtues carried to excess; which, though ridiculous in their effects, are respectable in their principle. There is no connexion in the part of Damis. The bad poet is one character; the just and generous man who pardons his friend's faults, and answers his insults only by good offices, is quite a different one. If probability is not violated, unity at least is not maintained. But how improbable is the reception which Damis gives to the last declaration of Dorante. His transports cannot

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be conceived as natural, without supposing him domineered by the *Metromanie* in its utmost force. Yet he receives an account of the fall of his tragedy with indifference, calling this a trifling matter. Had he pardoned Dorante for attempting to put him to death, but remained inexorable to the crime of hissing his play, the character would have appeared to me to be better supported.

March 31st.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p.* 476—494; and *Dissert. VI. p.* 494—553. He proceeds to the consular medals; the names and surnames of the Romans, and their different offices represented on medals. I expected to have found more novelty in this part of his work.

I went to the library to read *Mr. de la Condamine's Journal of his Travels in Italy,* in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for* 1757, *p.* 386—411. I was pleased to find the heights of several mountains in fathoms measured by the barometer. They are as follow:

Level of the sea	0
The Rhone, and Lake of Geneva and Canigon the top of the Pyrenees	1410
Quito in Peru	1430
The road over Mount Cenis	1460
The highest point of Mount Cenis	1510
Pic of Teneriffe	2150
Mont Blanc, 14 or 15 leagues to the south-east of Geneva, and visible at 60 leagues off, at Langres	2676
Chimboraco, the highest mountain of the Cordilleras of the Andes, and perhaps of the world	3220

Mr. de la Condamine remarks, that in the Roman highways, the joinings of the stones are never placed in

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in the same direction with that of the motion of the carriages that travelled over them; and that the bed of the Tiber must have acquired ten or twelve feet in height, because the ancient pavement of the pantheon is overflowed to that height every winter. The emerald of Genoa is only a piece of glass.

April 1st.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VI. p.* 533—589; and *Dissert. VII. p.* 589—633. He continues the chapter concerning offices, particularly those of legates and proprætors, whom the emperors sent into the provinces, and who were distinguished by the epithet "Consular" towards the time of the Antonines. He then proceeds to the medals of emperors and empresses. I have met with nothing more curious than the article concerning those princesses. I should not be a stranger at their courts, since I could distinguish the two Faustinas by their respective head-dresses.

2d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VII. p.* 633—660. He continues to speak of women, and the relations of the Cæsars.

3d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VIII. p.* 660—737. This part is very curious; containing an account of the different titles, which, by their union, formed the imperial authority: Cæsar, Augustus, Imperator, High Priest, Father of the Country, Proconsul, Tribune—all these taken together rendered the emperors far greater than kings. This last title was also given to them as early as the time of Domitian by Greek historians and Latin poets, though those princes themselves did not venture

to

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to assume it, till the time of Constantine and the lower empire, when all republican maxims had been effaced from the minds of their subjects.

I went to the library to re-examine Mr. de la Condamine's Journal, which I had read too hastily. I met with the two following particulars concerning the height of mountains. 1. The 1460 fathoms given for the altitude of Mount Cenis are not applicable to the road, but to a station far more elevated, which Mr. de la Condamine reached with the utmost difficulty. The Pilgrim's Hospital is five hundred fathoms lower. 2. Falio de Duillier made the Lake of Geneva 426 fathoms above the level of the sea, and Mont Blanc 2000 fathoms higher: in all 2426 fathoms. But of the two elements of this calculation, the one is taken too high, and the other too low. Mr. de Cheseaux, measuring a larger base, found Mont Blanc to be 2250 fathoms above the level of the lake; but the height given to the lake above the sea, corrected by barometrical observations at Geneva, Turin, and Genoa, appears to be only 188, instead of 426 fathoms: so that the true height of Mont Blanc is 2438 fathoms. Mr. de la Condamine thus rectifies, in the History of the Academy, the notions which he had not sufficiently examined when he published his journal.

April 4th.]—I read *Spanheim, de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. VIII. p. 737—757.* After discussing the honorary titles of princes, he proceeds to the medals called the *Spintriæ* of Tiberius: he believes them to have been pieces of money that were

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were scattered among the common people at the obscene games of Flora. He then treats of colonies; sacred, free, and independent cities; the bounties of the emperors; the *vehiculatio Italiæ;* the arrear of imposts; the whole forming a classic book on the subject of medals.

I finished *Bayle's General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism; in 12mo. Villa Franca,* 1684, *third edition.* The fashion of the age made the philosopher Bayle enter the lists of controversy; into which he brought with him a measure of knowledge, precision, and candour, as well as entertainment, seldom exhibited there. In his reasonings concerning infallibility, and the rights of an erroneous conscience, you see the accurate and enlightened dialectician; but he is rather too diffuse. No man was ever better qualified than Bayle for assuming the character of his adversary, shewing his system in a new garb, and for availing himself of all places open to assault; which is one of the greatest advantages of the sceptical philosophy. His chapters on the marriage of the clergy are full of pleasantry, learning, and knowledge of human nature; and his two letters on the love of parents towards their children, and on jealousy, contain a profound philosophy; in which he unfolds a chain of prejudices connected with our existence, necessary for our happiness, and intended by the Supreme Being to supply the place of a reason too exalted for the bulk of mankind, and too weak to be a principle of action.

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action. The new letters appear to me far superior to the two first volumes.

April 6th.]—I read only the ninth Dissert. of *Spanheim, p.* 813—834. He treats of kings appointed by the Romans.

7th.]—I spent the whole morning in the library, reading very extensive articles in the second part of the third volume of *Monfaucon's Explanation of Antiquities.* He treats of the theatres and amphitheatres of the Romans.

9th.]—I read a considerable part of *Keysler,* in order to extract from him whatever might be useful in my travels in Italy; on which I set out in a few days with Guise. I am much pleased with Keysler; his work is useful, curious, and learned without affectation. When I consider how well he examined Italy in nine months, I am sensible that time is long, when we know how to make a good use of it.

10th.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p.* 834—860. He treats of the victories of the emperors, their public works, and the speeches which *they only* had a right to make to the soldiers. The heads of accusation against Metius Volusianus were not so ridiculous according to Roman, as they would be according to modern manners. Montesquieu and Spanheim think alike on this subject; the suggestions of genius are confirmed by erudition.

11th.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p.* 860—914; which concludes the work. He treats of the assistance which chronology and geography may

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derive from medals. Mr. d'Alembert's ignorance on this subject is pardonable.

April 12th.]—I re-examined Spanheim's work which is a real treasury of medallic erudition, a classic book on this science.

14th.]—I read hastily Vaillant's book on the medals of colonies, with a reference to the article of Julius Cæsar. I much wish that I had time to examine it more deeply.

16th.]—I found leisure, amidst multiplied occupations, to read Vaillant down to the reign of Claudius. I wish he had mentioned the cabinets in which his medals are to be found.

Genoa, June 11th.]—I have done nothing in the way of study but read the first seven epistles of the first book of Horace; a delightful philosopher and an excellent poet. At leisure moments I translated into English some parts of my Collection, which suggested to me various observations concerning the different idioms of the two languages, and the extreme difficulty of writing in both, without injuring the purity of either. One morning I gave way to reflexions which had often occurred to me, on ancient coins; and was so well disposed for diligence, that, with the assistance of a few books, I might have made great progress in the subject. I believe that the pound Troy was the ancient Roman pound. Until more accurate researches are made, which however have hitherto been neglected, I would propose the following table. The denarius should be ascertained by a mean proportional between the estimate of Greaves and

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and Arbuthnot, and the conclusion resulting from the Farnese Congius; deducting a sixth part for alloy.

The Roman denarius, or Greek drachma, will make 7½ English pence, about 14 French sous.

The Attic talent 187*l.* 10*s.*; about 4280 French livres.

The sestertium, or *great sesterce*, 7*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* or 180 French livres.

Florence, June 24th.]—All the English dined at Sir Horace Mann's. I have already mentioned their names, except that of Consul Dick, who is come from Leghorn with his wife in order to be present at the arrival of the Duke of York, who is expected against the festival of St. Peter. The knight gave us an excellent dinner, but it was not very lively. ********* engrossed the conversation and talked poetry, politics, and chemistry with an astonishing volubility. This man is certainly not without genius or knowledge; but his self-sufficiency, his affectation, and an eccentricity, bordering on folly, render him very unpleasing. He associates but little with the other English.

25th.]—I procured two volumes of *Mr. Gori's Symbolæ Florentinæ*, in order to read Mr. Muratori's dissertation on the brazen table found near Velleia, which he has prefixed to an accurate plate of the table itself. See *Symbolæ, Vol. v. p.* 1---56, and seven sheets for the table itself. It is written with as much precision and perspicuity as learning. Mr. Muratori is not a mere antiquary. He proves clearly that Trajan

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first instituted the *Pueri Alimentarii* in Italy, A. D. 103; and that this institution was supported by his successors to the time of Pertinax, who entirely abolished it. He thinks that this inscription, far longer than any other, may throw much light on the history, geography, and economy of that age. I quite agree with him; but, after maturely considering the inscription, do not think that he has seen all the consequences which ought to be drawn from it.

July 2d.]—I carefully re-examined Muratori's dissertation. I take the trouble of extracting from the bronze table the rents which a vast number of citizens of Velleia covenanted to pay, and the funds from which they were to raise them. The task is dry and unpleasant; but, before building an edifice, it is necessary to lay the foundation; there must be bricklayers as well as architects. I hope to benefit by this enumeration.

4th.]—I finished the volume of *Statues*, with Gori's observations.

7th.]—We were forced to dine with ********* who courts us as assiduously as we avoid him. During the repast he amused us much by his airs of greatness, and his ideas of economy, which are extravagant to a degree. There is a good deal of gasconade in them, I know, but he certainly realises them in some measure. He has much vanity and ambition, and endeavours to unite the two characters of philosopher and voluptuary. I do not think he professes the least taste for the arts or antiquities which attract so many travellers. According

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cording to him, a person may see Rome in twenty days. This trait is enough for me.

July 25th.]—Lord Palmerston, whom we saw at Lausanne, is arrived here from Padua. He has completed his travels, and I think to his satisfaction. Sir Horace Mann took us to his house to dinner. After dinner there was a boat-race on the Arno, which we, and the rest of the English, saw from the windows of our apartment. It is one of those things (there are so many of them) of which the description may be better than the reality. The boats were so little ornamented, and the race so short, that we merely saw that the Florentines have some idea of public spectacles, but know not how to execute them. We passed the evening in an assembly at the Countess Accaioli's.

August 23d.]—The two Damers dined with us. They are really good young men; and though extremely wild, are by no means devoid of abilities and good sense. The youngest was in the Guards, which he left, because Lord Tyrawley had refused him permission to travel. I suspect that there was some political motive for this.

26th.]—********** is returned from his tour. He distinguished himself at Lucca by his declared contempt of the city and the state, by his misplaced hauteur, and by his many sarcasms. The republic, which has always prided itself on its attentions to the English, adopted with regret the resolution of making him quit Lucca, which it communicated to Sir Horace Mann. When this was intimated to ********** he requested leave

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to see an Opera, and to obtain it, made very unseasonable submissions. An officer of the Guards attended him all the day, and in the evening conducted him to the theatre without his sword. He departed the next day.

HINTS

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Camp, near Winchester, 26th July, 1761.

HINTS OF SOME SUBJECTS FOR HISTORY.

I WOULD despise an author regardless of the benefit of his readers: I would admire him who, solely attentive to this benefit, should be totally indifferent to his own fame. I stand in neither of these predicaments. My own inclination as well as the taste of the present age, have made me decide in favour of history. Convinced of its merit, my reason cannot blush at the choice. But this is not all. Am I worthy of pursuing a walk of literature, which Tacitus thought worthy of him, and of which Pliny doubted whether he was himself worthy?* The part of an historian is as honourable as that of a mere chronicler or compiler of gazettes is contemptible. For which task I am fit, it is impossible to know, until I have tried my strength; and to make the experiment, I ought soon to choose some subject of history, which may do me credit, if well treated; and whose importance, even though my work should be unsuccessful, may console me for employing too much time in a species of composition for which I was not well qualified. I proceed, therefore, to review some subjects for history; to indicate their advan-

* Vide Plin. Secund. Epist. Lib. v. Ep. viii.

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tages and defects; and to point out that subject which I may think fit to prefer.

The history of Richard I. of England's crusade against the Saracens.

The history of Richard I. of England, and his crusade against the Saracens, is alluring by the marvellous. A king of England fighting at the head of an allied army of English and French under the walls of Ascalon! There are good materials for executing such an undertaking. Without speaking of the general chronicles, we know two contemporary and accurate historians; and what is of great importance to a lover of the truth, the one a Christian, and the other a Mahomedan; I mean William of Tyre, and the Arabian, whose history of Saladin is translated by Mr. Schultens. Two monkish authors, at least, have left particular descriptions of this crusade; and two other monks have celebrated it in historical poems. But, on the other hand, this Richard was a fit hero only for monks. With the ferocity of a gladiator, he united the cruelty of a tyrant; and both were unsuccessfully employed in a cause where superstition silenced religion, justice, and policy; and against one of the most accomplished princes in history. How little are we interested in the exploits of Richard! Besides, this transaction is too remote, and too deeply buried in the darkness of the middle ages, to attract much notice at present.

EXTRACTS

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EXTRACTS FROM MR. GIBBON'S COMMON-PLACE BOOKS, MEMORANDA, &c.

THERE is some philosophical amusement in tracing the birth and progress of error. Till the beginning of the ninth century, the two Dionysii of Athens, and of Paris, however adorned with imaginary trophies, were carefully distinguished from each other in the Greek and in the Latin churches. Under the reign of Lewis, the son of Charlemagne, about the year 824, Hilduia, abbot of St. Denys, resolved to confound them, and to dignify the Gallican church, by assigning its origin, not to an obscure bishop of the third century, but to a celebrated philosopher of Athens, who received his mission from the Apostles themselves. As the genuine writers of antiquity refused to countenance this opinion, Hilduia, though he sometimes quoted and corrupted them, found it necessary to *create* the works of Aristarchus, of Visbius, &c. which existed only in his fancy, or, at the most, in the suspicious archives of his convent. The zeal and correspondence of the Benedictine monks spread the tale as far as Rome and Constantinople. It was published by Anastasius in the Latin, and by Methodius in the Greek tongue. From the east, it was reverberated back into France with such an increase of sound, it was so grateful to the ear of national vanity, that as early as the year 876, the famous Hincmar, Archbishop

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bishop of Rheims, could scarcely persuade himself that there still existed any remains of incredulity. In the seventeenth century, Sirmond the Jesuit, and the indefatigable Launoy, ventured to restore the long-lost distinction of the two Dionysii; and the bigots, after some struggle, were reduced to silence. See Varia de duobus Dionysiis Opuscula, in 8vo. Paris, 1660.

The two extraordinary circumstances in the legend of George of Cappadocia are his gradual transformations from a heretic to a saint, and from a saint to a knight-errant. 1. It clearly appears from Epiphanius (Hæres. lxxvi.) that some persons revered George as a martyr, because he had been massacred by the fury of the Pagans. But as Epiphanius observes, with truth, that his vices, not his faith, had been the cause of his death; the Arians disguised the object of their veneration by changing the time and place of his martyrdom, stigmatised his adversary Athanasius under the title of Athanasius the Magician, and when they returned to the Catholic church, they brought with them a new saint of whose real character they had insensibly lost the remembrance. At first, he was received with coldness and distrust; and in the year 494, the Council of Rome, held under Pope Gelasius, mentions his acts as composed by the heretics, and his person as better known to God than to men. But in the succeeding century his glory broke out with sudden lustre, both in the east and in the west. See the contemporary testimonies

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timonies of Procopius (de Edificiis, l. iii); of Venantius Fortunatus (l. ii. carm. 13); of Gregory of Tours (de Gloriâ Martyrum, l. i. c. 101); and of Gregory of Rome (in Libro Sacrament.) New legends were invented by the lively fancy of the Greeks, which described the stupendous miracles and sufferings of the *great martyr:* and from Lydda in Palestine, (see Glaber, l. iii. c. 7. Wilhelm. Tyr. l. 8. (22),) the supposed place of his burial, devout pilgrims transported the suspicious relics which adorned the temples erected to his honour in all the countries of Europe and Asia. 2. The genius of chivalry and romance mistook the symbolical representations which were common to St. George of Cappadocia, and to several other saints, the dragon painted under their feet was designed for the devil, whom the martyr transpierced with the spiritual lance of faith, and thus delivered the church, described under the figure of a woman. But in the time of the crusades the dragon, so common in eastern romance, was considered as a real monster slain near the city of Silena, in Libya, by the Christian hero, who (like another Perseus) delivered from his fury a beautiful and royal damsel named St. Margaret. In the great battle of Antioch, St. George fought on the side of the Christians, at the head of an innumerable host, whose shields, banners, &c. were perfectly white: and the truth of this prodigy, so analagous to his character, is attested by contemporaries and eye-witnesses. (Robert. Hist. Hierosolym. l. v. et vii. Petrus Tudebrod. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.). The name of St. George,

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George, who on other occasions, in Spain and Italy, is said to have lent a similar aid, was invoked by princes and warriors as that of their peculiar patron. Cities and kingdoms, Malta, Genoa, Barcelona, Valencia, Arragon, England, &c. adopted him as their tutelary saint; and even the Turks have vied with the Christians in celebrating the martial prowess of their celestial enemy, whom they style the knight of the white horse. (Cotobii. in Itinerar. Cantacuzen in Apol. iii. contra Mahametanos.) An ample collection of whatever relates to St. George may be found in the Bollandists. Acta Sanctorum, mens. April. Jan. iii. p. 100—163. The first who discovered the Arian persecutor under the mask of sanctity was Isaac Pontanus de Rebus Amstelod. l. ii. c. 4. and although Father Papebroch (Acta S. S. Boll. p. 112.) is extremely angry with him, the more candid Abbé de Longuerne (Longuewand) embraces the opinion of Pontanus with pleasure, and assurance. Perhaps our knights of the garter would be somewhat astonished at reading this short history of their patron.

It would be absurd to quote, or even to refute the recent forgeries of Flavius Dexter, Marcus Maximus, Julian Peter, or Liutprand, by which the Spaniards have endeavoured to support their favourite tradition, that they received the Gospel from the Apostle St. James, in the fifteen years which elapsed between the death of Christ and his own martyrdom. If we except the ambiguous passage

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passage of St. Jerome, (Comment. ad Isaiam, c. 38. 42.) the earliest testimonies which can be produced are those of two Spanish bishops, Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo, who both flourished in the seventh century. In the ancient liturgy, which after the conquest of the Arabs acquired the title of Mozarabic, St. James is celebrated as the Apostle of Spain. His pretensions were peaceably admitted into the offices of most of the Latin churches, and when with the other arts, the art of criticism was restored, he could already boast an uninterrupted possession of 900 years. When the Roman Breviary was corrected under Clement VIII. a serious attention was paid to the doubts of Cardinal Baronius, and the positive assertion of the mission of St. James into Spain was exchanged for the qualified expression of "mox Hispaniam adiisse, et aliquos discipulos ad fidem convertisse ecclesiarum illius provinciæ *traditio* est." This national disgrace was obliterated in the year 1635, after forty years negociation; but by the anxious policy of the court of Rome the new form was composed in such a manner as to guard the pre-eminence of St. Peter from the interference of any other Apostle in the West. From that time the Spaniards have triumphed; the French critics Noël, Alexandre, and Tillemont, have been obliged to offer their difficulties with diffidence and respect; and it is pleasant enough to see them stigmatised as free-thinkers by the Bollandists. Acta Sanctorum, mens. Julii, tom. vi. p. 69—114.

About

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About the year 814, one hundred years after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, Theodeorier, Bishop of Iria Flavia, in Gallicia, guided by some nocturnal and præternatural lights, had the good fortune to discover in the adjacent forest of Compostella, an ancient tomb overgrown with brambles, which contained the body of the patron and Apostle of Spain. A rude and hasty chapel, suitable to the poverty of the Christians, was immediately built by Alphonso the Chaste, King of Leon; and in the year 876, his successor Alphonso the Third erected on that spot a temple more worthy of the majesty of the saint. By the verses of Walafridus Strabo, (Cænis. Antiq. Lecteon. tom. vi. p. 661.) who died in 849, and by the martyrologies of Ado and Usward, it is evident that before the end of the ninth century, the tomb of St. James was celebrated throughout Europe; nor was it difficult to frame a legend which accounted for the conveyance of his body from the country where he had suffered martyrdom to the country where he had preached the Gospel. The solitude of Compostella was insensibly changed into a flourishing city, which acquired the episcopal and even the metropolitan honours of the deserted sees of Iria Flavia, and Merida. During the tenth and the succeeding centuries, the Spaniards, the French, the Germans, and the Flemings, resorted in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; and such was the ardour of their zeal, that quarrels, and even murders, very frequently happened while the several nations contended for the privilege

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lege of watching before the altar. (Innocent. III. Epistol. Edit. Baluz. l. x. p. 43.) On this new theatre the Apostle of Spain soon displayed his miraculous powers for the relief of his friends and the punishment of his enemies. The former experienced his aid in the most imminent dangers and the most desperate diseases; and the Arabian general Almanzar, who had dared to violate the sanctuary of Compostella, lost the greatest part of his army by the effects of the dysentery (Sampirus Asturicensis, in Edit. Sandoonl. p. 70. Roderic Toletan. l. v. c. 16.) In the wars between the Christians and the Moors, it was impossible that St. James could remain an indifferent spectator; and the Spanish soldiers, particularly the military order which under his patronage was founded in the 12th century, devoutly invoked his aid as that of a good and valiant knight; strange as that title might appear for a Saint who had probably never been on horseback in his life, (see Monachus Siliensis apud Francisc. de Berganza Antiquit. Hispan. p. 543.) it was soon justified by nocturnal visions, which prepared the minds of the Spaniards for the belief of a more public and visible apparition. At first it seems probable that they contented themselves with celebrating the miraculous aid which he had given to their ancestors, and we may observe that his exploits in the battle of Clavigium so pompously described by Mariana (l. vii. c. 13) and Roderic of Toledo (l. iv. c. 13) are unnoticed by the more ancient writers. But as the habits of faith were insensibly confirmed by time,

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time, and by repeated acts of credibility, the warriors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could persuade themselves and their contemporaries that, with their own eyes, they had seen their heroic apostle, mounted on a white horse, leading them to battle and to victory. (See Lucas Tudensis ad Ann. 1230, tom. iv. Hispania Illustrat. p. 114). In succeeding ages St. James displayed his prowess in Italy, Flanders, India, and America, (see a curious circumstance in Robertson's History of America, vol. ii. p. 448.) and his influence was felt, even when his presence was invisible. The day of his festival was auspicious to the arms of Spain, according to the admirable observation of Grotius, "Diem quem Hispani felicem sibi credunt, et credendo sæpe faciunt." Charles the Fifth chose for the invasion of Provence that holy day which in the preceding year had been crowned by the conquest of Tunis; but on this occasion St. James and the Emperor were obliged to retire with disgrace. (See a fine passage in the Mémoires de du Bellay, quoted by the Abbé d'Artigny, Mélanges d'Histoire, &c. tom. ii. p. 290.)

The Bollandists, by whom I have been guided, have laboured the article of St. James with indefatigable diligence. Act. Sanctor. Mensis Jul. tom. vi. p. 1—124.

Tacitus describes the site of Jerusalem with his accustomed brevity and precision; "duos *colles* immensum editos claudebant *muri* per artem obliqui (Hist. v. ii. See likewise Josephus de B. J. l. vi.

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l. vi. c. 6). The hill situated to the south was called Sion, and originally constituted the ancient or upper city. The northern hill called Acra was gradually covered by the Temple, by the buildings of the new or lower city, and in modern times by those which surround the modern sepulchre. Jerusalem has insensibly moved toward the north, and the hill of Sion is long since deserted.

By the comparison of the measures taken on the spot by Des Haies and Maundrell, it appears that the actual circumference of Jerusalem amounts to 2000 or 1960 French toises.

According to the measurement of a Syrian engineer (Euseb. Prep. Evangel. l. ix. c. 36.) the circumference of ancient Jerusalem was twenty-seven stadia, which gives us 2550 toises, and agrees perfectly with the nature of the ground as represented in Des Haies's plan.

It results from the best authorities, and the most accurate measures, that the enclosure of the great Mosque of Jerusalem (supposed to contain the whole ground of the ancient temple) is about 215 toises in length and 172 in breadth, and consequently about one Roman mile, or eight stadia in circumference. But if we deduct the waste ground allotted for the court of the Gentiles, the temple itself formed a square, each side of which was equal to 500 Hebrew cubits, or 142 French toises.

(A curious dissertation of M. d'Anville Sur l'Ancienne Jérusalem. Paris, 1747. pp. 75. It is now out of print and was lent me by that geographer himself.)

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PLINY JUNIOR.—Le traducteur François des Lettres de Pline a fait quelques méprises que je relèverai. Il dit dans sa vie de Pline " que le royaume de Bithynie avoit été légué aux Romains par Attalus fils de Prusias, un de ses rois, et qui se disoit affranchi du peuple Romain."(1) I^ment. Le prince qui légua la Bithynie aux Romains ne s'appela point Attalus; son nom étoit Nicomède. II^ment. Il n'étoit point le fils de Prusias.(2) III^ment. Faut-il entendre les mots " qui se disoit affranchi du peuple Romain" de cet Attale, ou de Prusias? c'étoit seulement du dernier qu'on pouvoit le dire avec vérité. Ce même traducteur dans un autre endroit(3) traduit le mot Forojulii par celui de Frioul. Mais il est certain que l'endroit en question étoit une ville en Provence, près de Marseilles.(4) On l'appèle à présent Fréjus.

(1) Lettres de Pline, tom. ii. p. 41 de la Vie de l'Auteur.
(2) Appian. in Bell. Mithrid. p. 175. 215. Edit. Hen. Steph. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. p. 4. 59. Tit. Liv. Epit. lib. 93.
(3) C. Plin. Epist. lib. v. Ep. 19.
(4) Cellar. Notit. Orbis Antiquæ, tom. i. p. 150. Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Brandenbourg, tom. i. p. 153.

CROMWELL.—L'Europe avoit accordé le titre de grand alors à trois princes: à Louis Quatorze, à Cromwell, et à Fréderic Guillaume. A Cromwell pour avoir sacrifié tous les devoirs d'un bon citoyen à la gloire de régner sur l'Angleterre; pour avoir perverti ses talens, qui, au lieu de devenir utiles à sa patrie, ne servirent qu'à son ambition; pour avoir caché ses impostures sous le masque du fanatisme; assujetti sa nation à sa tyrannie en combattant pour ses libertés; pour être devenu le meurtrier de son roi, qu'il immola à ses fureurs; pour être hardi, artificieux, passionné, violent, injuste, et non vertueux; pour avoir des grandes qualités, et manquer des bonnes.

BOCHART.

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BOCHART.—Je relèverai deux petites méprises dans lesquelles M. de Bochart est tombé. I^ment. Il cite, pour prouver que l'empereur Conrad II. n'avoit jamais pris le titre de Roi de Bourgogne, une charte de l'empereur Henri III. son fils et successeur, qui finit ainsi; Signum Domini Henrici Regis Invic. Teutonicom Tertii, Secundi Romanorum Imperatoris Invictissimi, et BURGUNDIONUM PRIMI. Se seroit-il dit le premier (dit M. de Bochart), si Conrad son père avoit porté en quelque façon le titre de Roi de Bourgogne? Mais comment ne voyoit-il pas lui-même que le Primus ne disoit rien, sinon que ce prince étoit le premier Roi de Bourgogne du nom de Henri? Pouvoit-il s'appeler le troisième Roi des Teutones, ou le second empereur? Au lieu qu'il étoit bien Henri II. comme empereur, et III. comme Roi d'Allemagne; Henri l'Oiseleur n'étant considéré que comme Roi d'Allemagne, parcequ'il n'avoit point reçu la couronne impériale des mains du Pape.(1)

II^ment. Il dit que les Tigurini étoient les seuls, excepté Hannibal et les Samnites, qui eussent fait passer les Romains sous le joug.(2) Sans rechercher des exemples bien loin, les Numantines(3) et Jugurtha(4) firent subir cette ignominie à des armées Romaines dans le même siècle que les Tigurini. Je ne blâme point M. de Bochart d'avoir traduit le mot Interpres(5) d'un passage de Cicéron(6) par celui d'interprète. Je sais bien que Interpres le signifie, mais il me semble qu'il auroit été plus conforme aux fonctions des légats dont Cicéron parle s'il l'avoit rendu par celui d'entremetteur; d'une

(1) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 263.
(2) Idem. tom. ii. p. 342.
(3) Vell. Paterc. Hist. Rom. lib. ii. c. 1. Plut. in Tib. Graccho.
(4) Sallust. in Bell. Jug. c. 38.
(5) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. i. p. 461.
(6) Cicer. in Vat. c. 15.

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d'une personne qui est employée dans la médiation de quelque affaire. C'est dans ce sens que les meilleurs auteurs s'en servent.(7)

(7) Virgil. Æneid. lib. iv. v. 608. Cicer. Epist. ad Famil. lib. x. Ep. 15. 17. V. aussi les Remarques de M. Ross, l'editeur Anglois, là-dessus. Tit. Liv. Hist. lib. ii. c. 33.

Ambrones.—M. de Bochart(1) croit ne devoir pas admettre les Ambrones entre les quatre peuples qui formoient la cité Helvétienne du temps de César. Sa meilleure raison pour cela est le témoignage de César lui-même, qui dit que les Tigurini furent les seuls des cantons Helvétiens qui joignoient l'armée des Cimbres et des Teütons dans leur guerre contre les Romains.(2) Or il est certain que les Ambrones furent de cette expédition. Il acquiesce assez dans l'idée du P. Oudin,(3) qui les plaçoit dans le pays qu'occupoient depuis les Sébusiens, qui étoient resserrés entre les confins des Séquanois, le Rhone, et l'Ains. Aussi trouve-t-on dans ces quartiers-là beaucoup de noms qui ressemblent fort au leur, comme Ambournay, petite ville de Bugey, &c. Il faut convenir qu'Ambro, qui signifioit en Celtique pays d'eau, convient assez bien à celui-ci. Car les terres du bord du Rhone depuis l'Ecluse jusqu'à Lyon étoient pour la plûpart des marais. C'est ce qui fit dire à Ammien Marcellin que le Rhone, en sortant du Lac Léman, passe par de vastes marais, par immensa paludum, dans le pays des Séquanois, le Bugey. Il croit néanmoins que le P. Oudin à trop resserré les limites, et tant à cause de la ressemblance du nom, que parceque cette nation paroît avoir été fort nombreuse, il veut qu'elle s'étendoit jusqu'à Ambrun, en Dauphiné.

(1) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Suisse, tom. ii. p. 586, &c.
(2) Cæsar de Bello Gall. lib. i. c. 12.
(3) V. la Dissert. du P. Oudin dans le Recueil de Pièces d'Hist. et de Littérat. tom. iv. p. 1.

Cid.

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CID.—Après l'Illusion Comique, M. Corneille se releva plus grand et plus fort que jamais, et fit le Cid. Jamais pièce de théâtre n'eut un si grand succès. Je me souviens d'avoir vu en ma vie un homme de guerre et un mathématicien qui, de toutes les comédies du monde, ne connoissoient que le Cid. L'horrible barbarie où ils vivoient n'avoit pu empêcher le nom du Cid d'aller jusqu'à eux. M. Corneille avoit dans son cabinet cette pièce traduite dans toutes les langues de l'Europe, hors l'Esclavonne, et la Turque. Elle étoit en Allemand, en Anglois, en Flamand, et par une exactitude Flamande on l'avoit rendue vers pour vers. Elle étoit en Italien, et, ce qui est plus étonnant, en Espagnol. Les Espagnols avoient bien voulu copier eux-mêmes une pièce dont l'original leur appartenoit. M. Pelisson dit dans son Histoire de l'Académie qu'en plusieurs provinces de France il étoit passé en proverbe de dire, "Cela est beau comme le Cid." Si ce proverbe a péri il faut s'en prendre aux auteurs, qui ne le goûtoient pas; et à la cour, où c'eût été très mal parler, que de s'en servir dans le ministère du Cardinal Richelieu.

Vie de Corneille, p. 72. mise devant l'édition de ses ouvrages de la Haye. 1740.

BERNE.—M. de Bochart n'est point dans l'idée générale au sujet du nom de la ville de Berne. On croit que Berchtold, Duc de Zaringue, son fondateur, le lui donna à l'occasion d'un ours qu'on avoit pris dans l'endroit où est à présent la ville, *Bar* signifiant en Allemand un Ours. M. de Bochart veut le tirer de Bern, qui dans la langue Celtique veut dire une Colline; nom assez fréquent dans les

Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 118–127.

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pays Celtiques, et qui convient fort bien à la situation de Berne. Voici les remarques qu'il fait sur le sentiment commun.

I^ment. Que quoiqu'il y eût quelque conformité entre Bar et Bern, ces deux mots ne se confondoient point, et n'étoient point synonymes dans l'idiome Allemand en usage au douzième siècle. Ce n'est que dans l'ancienne langue de Scanie qu'on voit une dans le nom de l'Ours.

II^ment. Parceque cette histoire suppose que Berchtold étoit dans le pays au printems de l'an 1191. Or il est certain que ce prince étoit à la Terre Sainte avec l'empereur Fréderic I. l'automne de 1190, et il est vraisemblable qu'il n'en revint que l'an 1193.

III^ment. Il remarque que de toutes les chroniques qui en parlent il n'y en a aucune plus ancienne que 1420, près de 230 ans après la fondation de la ville.

IV^ment. Que tous les monumens qu'on cite sont postérieurs à la première des chroniques, et que par conséquence, ils ne prouvent rien, sinon que cette tradition étoit répandue alors.

V^ment. Que les armes de Berne, qui sont un Ours, ne décident de rien, mille autres raisons pouvant y avoir donné lieu aussi bien que la prétendue chasse de l'ours.

M. de Watteville, Hist. de la Confédér. Helvét. tom. i. p. 94. Berne, 1754.

Si j'osois combattre une opinion si généralement reçue (l'étymologie et l'origine du nom de Berne) je hasarderois bien de dire que je crois l'histoire de cette dénomination une pure tradition, qu'on peut pardonner au siècle qui vit paroître la première his-

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histoire de Berne. Ce ne fut qu'en l'an 1420 que le Chancelier Conrad Justinger reçut l'ordre d'y travailler. V. Kettler, tom. i. p. 122. Je n'ai qu'une conjecture à opposer à cette tradition. Elle est fondée sur la signification Celtique du mot Bern, qui vouloit dire l'endroit où l'on s'assembloit pour rendre la justice. V. Wachter, Glossar. German. Voce Bar. Le château de Nideck, près duquel la ville à été bâtie, étoit vraisemblablement un de ces lieux de justice, dont le Duc aura voulu renouveller et conserver la mémoire; c'est pourquoi il aura donné le nom de Berne à sa nouvelle ville.

SATURNALES.—L'opinion commune est, que durant cette fête, les valets changeoient non seulement d'équipage, mais de condition avec leurs maîtres, et en étoient servis à table. Je trouve néanmoins sur ce dernier article, que Sénèque, (1) Stace, (2) Plutarque, (3) Justin, (4) Lucien, (5) et Macrobe, (6) parlant de cette fête, se contentoient de dire que les valets mangeoient avec leurs maîtres, et des mêmes viandes, et là-dessus rapportent l'origine de cette coutume à l'égalité qui étoit sous le règne de Saturne sans aucune distinction de maîtres ou de valets. Servius en parle aussi. (7) Athénée en parle un peu autrement, (8) et comme les Romains ne traitoient pas seulement leurs valets, mais les servoient, ne laisse pas de reconnoître que c'étoit une coutume Grecque. Lucius Accius, ancien poëte Latin, dit que les Romains avoient reçu cette fête des Grecs, et sur-

Les Césars de l'empereur Julien, traduits par M. Spanheim, p. 3. 6. Rem. 3. Amsterdam, 1728.
(1) Seneca, Epist. 47.
(2) Stace, in Sylvis Kal. Decem.
(3) Plut. in Numa.
(4) Just. lib. xliii. c. 1.
(5) Lucien in Satur.
(6) Macrob. in Satur. l. i. c. 7.
(7) Serv. ad Æneid. 8.
(8) Athen. lib. xiv.

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tout des Athéniens, qui l'aimoient beaucoup. (9) On voit des traces de cette institution parmi les Egyptiens, les Babyloniens, et les Perses. M. Bochart (10) en attribue l'origine à la malice des descendans de Cham, qui vouloient tourner en ridicule la prophétie de Noé contr'eux; M. Huet au Jubilé des Hébreux, où on voyoit quelques-uns des mêmes usages. (11)

(9) Macrob. in Satur. l. i. c. 7.

(10) Boch. in Phal. l. i. c. 1.

(11) Huet. Dem. Evan. p. 136.

GIANTS.—Monsieur l'Abbé Banier nous donne le précis de ce qu'on a dit pour et contre l'existence des Géans. M. l'Abbé Zilladet prétend qu'il y a eu des villes et des peuples tous entiers de Géans. M. Henrion va encore plus loin, et nous donne une espèce d'échelle chronologique sur la différence de la taille des hommes jusques Jésus Christ. Adam selon lui avoit 123 pieds 9 pouces de haut, et Eve 118 pieds 9 pouces; d'où il établit une règle de proportion entre les hommes et les femmes à raison de 25 à 24. Il donne 20 pieds de moins à Noé qu'à Adam, 28 à Abraham, 13 à Moïse, 10 à Hercule, et ainsi des autres.

Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p. 125. Tostatus in Deutr. l. xxvii. Theod. Ryckius Orat. de Gigant. Numbers, xiii. 33. 34 Odyss. i. vers 576. Eusebius Prep. Evan. lib. ix. c. 13. Phlégon de Tralles de Mirac. ch. 14. Pausanias in Attic. c. 25, et in Arcad. ch. 29. Philostrat. in Heroi. Plutarch in Sertorio. Plin. Hist. l. vii. c. 16.

Ceux qui soutiennent l'existence des Géans, se fondent, I^ment. sur l'autorité de l'Ecriture qui parle des Géans, des fils d'Enac, et du lit d'Og, roi de Basan; II^ment. sur le témoignage des auteurs profanes; et III^ment. sur les os monstrueux qu'on a trouvés dans plusieurs endroits. Leurs adversaires leur ont répondu que les Géans de l'Ecriture étoient des gens remarquables plutôt par l'énormité de leur conduite, que par celle de leur taille; et que d'ailleurs leur taille, quoique au-dessus de l'ordinaire,

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naire, n'approchoit pas à la grandeur que ces messieurs leur attribuent. A l'égard des os énormes une grande partie de ces histoires sont fabuleuses, ou du moins exagérées; et le reste des os sont supposés d'avoir été les os des éléphans, ou de quelques autres bêtes fort grandes. Au reste, selon eux, à juger de l'exacte proportion de la nature, il paroît que des hommes de notre taille ont été faits pour cultiver cette terre.

GIANNONE.—Je marquerai quelques erreurs dont l'exactitude de M. Giannone dans son Histoire de Naples ne l'a point garanti.

I^ment. (1) Il fait une faute d'omission en prouvant que Naples étoit une ville Grecque par un passage de Tacite seulement. N'avoit-il jamais lu Velleius Paterculus, qui dit formellement, (2) que Naples a été bâti par les Cuméens; que Cumes étoit une colonie des Chalcidiens; et que ceux-ci descendoient des Athéniens?

(1) Giannone, Hist. du Royaume de Naples, tom. i. p. 20.
(2) Vell. Paterc. Hist. l. i. c. 4.

II^ment. L'empereur Fréderic I., Barberousse, n'étoit point le fils (3), mais bien le neveu de l'empereur Conrad II (III).

(3) Giannone, Hist. de Naples, tom. ii. p. 440.

III^ment. Il dit (4) que la France est le seul état Chrétien où le clergé fait un ordre du royaume; en Suède et en Danemarc le clergé en fait un.

(4) Idem, tom. iii. p. 13.

IV^ment. Robert, Cardinal de Genève, n'étoit point Allemand. (5) Il étoit, comme notre auteur dit lui-même, de la famille des comtes du Genevois. Or je n'ai jamais entendu compter le Genevois pour une partie de l'Allemagne.

(5) Idem, tom. iv. p. 327.

CURA-

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M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Suisse, tom. ii. p. 312–340.

CURATORS.—Les Curateurs (à prendre l'idée que M. de Bochart nous donne sur ce sujet) étoient les magistrats des villes municipales du tems de l'empire Romain. Il est difficile de prononcer d'une façon bien exacte sur leurs fonctions, et leur pouvoir; cela varioit selon la constitution des endroits différens. Dans quelques villes ils avoient de la juridiction, dans des autres ils n'en avoient point. Ici, c'étoient les magistrats principaux; là, ils n'étoient que subordonnés. Les décurions, ou les conseillers des municipes, les élirent, aussi bien que tous leurs autres magistrats. Pour que l'élection fût dans les règles, il falloit deux tiers des voix du conseil, et la confirmation du gouverneur de la province. Quelquefois le peuple demandoit au conseil les magistrats qu'il souhaitoit, mais c'étoit sans effet de droit, si le conseil n'approuvoit cette réquisition par un décret. L'emploi de curateur étoit pour une année. Comme ceux qui en étoient revêtus étoient obligés à donner des spectacles au peuple, et à plusieurs autres dépenses considérables, on se soucioit assez peu de s'en charger. Aussi les empereurs furent-ils obligés de faire des loix fort sévères là-dessus. Ils n'étoient obligés pourtant d'entrer en charge que trois mois après leur élection, afin qu'ils eussent le tems de porter leur appel devant les gouverneurs des provinces au cas qu'ils voulussent en faire. On ne pouvoit point les obliger de l'avoir plus d'une année; et les citoyens qui l'avoient accepté plus d'une fois avoient grand soin de le mettre parmi leurs titres sur les monu-

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monumens publics. (1) Quelques savans ont cru qu'il falloit être citoyen Romain pour y parvenir; mais M. de Bochart rend fort vraisemblable, tant par des autorités que par des raisonnemens, que les provinciaux en jouissoient également.

(1) Gruter. cccIv. 3. Reines. Cl. vi. 114.

SELDEN.—Le petit traité de Selden de Diis Syriis est un chef-d'œuvre d'érudition. Tout ce que les recherches les plus singulières peuvent fournir de curieux sur cette matière, ce savant homme l'a mis en œuvre. S. Bochart, excellent juge en cette matière, l'appèle *libellum aureum;* et le célèbre Vossius l'a presqu'entièrement copié dans son traité de l'idolâtrie, qui est aussi dans son genre ce que nous avons de plus achevé. Scædius, à l'imitation de Selden, a fait aussi un traité des divinités Germaines. Mais excepté ce qu'il puise dans l'auteur Anglois, il n'a rien de fort curieux; ce sont des recherches vagues, des conjectures souvent sans fondement, et qui apprennent peu de chose. On a fait plusieurs éditions du traité de Selden. Je me suis cependant toujours servi de celle de Leyde, 1629, qui est assez correcte.

Vigneul Marville, Mél. d'Hist. et de Litt. tom. iii. p. 56.

BAYLE.—Je marquerai une petite faute de cet illustre savant. Il dit (1) que Charles II. roi de Naples, de la maison d'Anjou, n'eut que quatre fils:—Charles Martel, qui fut roi d'Hongrie; Robert, qui succéda à son père dans celui de Naples; Jean, fondateur de la branche des ducs de Duraz; et Philippe, fondateur de celle des princes d'Achaie. Or il est certain qu'outre ces quatre fils il en eut encore

(1) Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Critique. Article de Jeanne, reine de Naples. Rem. A.

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encore quatre dont l'un nommé Louis fut canonisé par Pape Jean XXII.(2)

(2) Giannone, Hist. Civ. du Royaume de Naples, tom. iii. p. 195. Anderson, Tables Genealogical, p. 691.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.—G. Vossius, dans cette vie de Velleius Paterculus qu'il a tiré de son grand ouvrage de Historicis Latinis, et qu'il a mis devant l'Elzivir édition de cet auteur de l'an 1639, rapporte (1) un fragment de son Histoire Gauloise que Wolfgangius Lazius dit avoir trouvé. Il contient la description d'une grande défaite des Romains par les peuples de la Norique, et de la Rhætie. Gerard Vossius ajoute que Marcus Velserus avoit prouvé avec un grand soin qu'il étoit supposé. N'ayant jamais vu les ouvrages de Velserus, je ne sais pas de quels argumens il s'est servi, mais en voici quatre qui en démontrent la fausseté. I^ment. On y fait les Macédoniens alliés des Romains; ils avoient été leurs sujets depuis que la Macédoine eut été conquise par Paule Emilie, l'an de Rome 535. II^ment. On y dit que C. Verres étoit tribun dans cette guerre, et qu'il n'évita la mort, qu'en se cachant dans les marais. Si cela étoit, est-il croyable que Cicéron, qui dans ses plaidoyers contre Verres nous trace une espèce de tableau de toute sa vie infame, (2) qu'il eût (dis-je) passé en silence un trait qui ouvroit un si beau champ à ses invectives? III^ment. Il n'est point vrai que Verres étoit proconsul de la Sicile; il n'y a qu'ouvrir les Verrines de Cicéron pour voir qu'il n'en étoit que le Préteur. IV^ment. Il est faux que Verres étoit puni de mort pour son administration de la Sicile; il étoit banni, et sa mort n'arriva que près de trente ans après,

(1) Gerard Vossius in illa Vita, p. 3, 4, 5. Wolfgangius Lazius, l. i. Commentariorum Reip. Roman. c. 3. l. v. c. 5. &c. M. Velserus in Rer. Augustan. Vindelic. Libris.

(2) Cicero in Verrem, l. i. passim.

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après, Marc Antoine l'ayant fait mourir pour avoir ses statues, et sa vaisselle Corinthienne.(3) Peut-on s'imaginer que Vell. Paterculus eût fait des bévues si grossières sur des événemens qui touchoient de si près à son tems ?(4)

(3) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 2.

(4) De 100 ans seulement. Car Verres fut jugé l'an 683. Vell. Pater. écrivit son Hist. l'an 783 de Rome.

Vertot (Abbé de.)—Je relèverai deux ou trois bévues de ce célèbre historien. I^ment. Il dit que dans la Guerre Sociale C. Marius, Q. Catulus, Cn. Pompeius, et L. Sylla ne se firent point de peine de servir sous les consuls en qualité de lieutenans, quoiqu'ils eussent tous commandé des armées auparavant comme consuls, et généraux.(1) Je l'avoue bien de Marius et de Catulus, mais non pas des autres. Je ne comprends pas comment M. de Vertot ait pu laisser passer une faute si frappante. Sans parler du témoignage exprès de Velleius Paterculus, (2) (son auteur favori,) ni de Cicéron, (3) il n'avoit qu'à jetter les yeux sur les Fastes Consulaires pour voir que la Guerre Sociale éclata sous le consulat de Julius César et de P. Rutilius Lupus A. U. C. 663; au lieu que Cn. Pompée ne fut consul que A. U. C. 664, et L. Sylla que l'année suivante. II^ment. Il dit(4) que le Pompée, qui se ménagea si adroitement entre les deux partis de Marius et de Sylla pendant le siège de Rome, s'appeloit Quintus, et avoit été consul avec Sylla. Il se trompe; celui-ci s'appeloit Cn. Pompeius Strabon, et avoit été consul l'année auparavant.(5) III^ment. M. de Vertot dit que Cicéron prononça sa seconde Philippique contre Marc Antoine en plein sénat,

(1) Vertot, Révol. de la République Romaine, tom. iii. p. 32. LaHaye, 1722.

(2) Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 15. du moins pour Sulla.

(3) Cicer. pro Fonteio, c. 13. du moins aussi pour Sulla.

(4) Vertot, Rév. Rom. tom. iii. 61.

(5) V. les Fastes Consulaires sur cette année. Fabricius de Vita Cicer. ad eund. annum, &c.

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sénat, (6) que voyant Antoine prêt d'envahir la Gaule Cisalpine il persuada au sénat de lui opposer les troupes du jeune César. Voilà deux, ou plutôt trois fautes. 1. Tout écolier doit savoir que Cicéron ne prononça point sa seconde Philippique en sénat. (7) Il l'a composa en réponse à une invective que Marc Antoine avoit prononcé contre lui dans cette assemblée, le 19 de Septembre A. U. C. 709, mais que, ne pouvant pas y venir sans danger, il se contenta de la publier. 2. Cicéron ne craignoit pas qu'Antoine ne se jettât dans la Gaule Cisalpine. Il n'y a qu'à lire sa troisième Philippique pour voir que ce consul assiégeoit déjà D. Brutus dans Modène avant que Cicéron eut fait cette proposition au sénat. 3. Il paroît que M. de Vertot croyoit que ce fut dans la seconde Philippique qu'il l'a fit. Il se trompe: ce ne fut que dans la troisième.(8) IV^ment. Il dit que les consuls Hirtius et Pansa ne joignirent Decimus Brutus qu'après le retour des ambassadeurs du sénat.(9) Je sais bien que Pansa ne s'approchoit de Brutus qu'environ le 15 d'Avril, (10) mais pour Hirtius il y étoit avant même que les députés fussent revenus de Modène, (11) ce qu'ils ne firent qu'au commencement de Février. V^ment. Il rapporte d'une façon tout à fait contraire à la vérité. Il dit (12) que Marc Antoine répondit aux députés, que puisque le sénat voulut lui arracher une province que les souffrages du peuple lui avoit donnée, il n'auroit plus d'égard à l'amnestie qu'il avoit accordée aux conjurateurs, mais qu'il les poursuivroit sans en épargner aucun. Bien loin de répondre ainsi,

Velleius Paterculus, Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 20.

(6) Révolut. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 565.

(7) Voyez Manutium in Argument. Philip. 2.

(8) Voyez toute la troisième Philippique.

(9) Rév. Rom. tom. iii. p. 368.

(10) Epist. ad Famil. l. x. Epist. 32. Edit. Ross.

(11) Philip. v. c. 4.

(12) Révol. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 361.

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ainsi, il dit (13) qu'il vouloit bien abandonner la Gaule Cisalpine, pourvu qu'en échange on lui donnât la Gaule Transalpine pour cinq ans; qu'on confirmât tous ses actes; qu'on rappellât tous ses partisans, et quelques autres conditions semblables.

(13) Philipp. viii. c. 8, 9.

Depuis que j'avois écrit ces remarques, on m'a attaqué sur la première d'entr'elles, se fondant pour cela sur une équivoque dans le texte de M. de Vertot. Il dit que tous les chefs dont il s'agit, avoient commandé des armées en qualité de consuls, et généraux. On conclut de là que s'ils avoient commandé des armées en qualité de généraux, bien qu'ils n'eussent pas encore été consuls, que j'avois tort de le blâmer. Je pourrois dire, que pour rendre cette excuse de beaucoup de force, il auroit fallu s'être servi d'un *ou* au lieu d'un *et*. Mais venons à l'essentiel. Il est sûr que, pour parler à la Romaine, on ne pouvoit donner le titre de général qu'à ceux qui combattoient sous leurs propres auspices, ce qui au tems de la république n'étoit accordé qu'aux consuls, proconsuls, et aux préteurs lorsqu'ils recevoient une province au sortir de leur emploi. Il faudroit donc rechercher l'époque de la préture de Sulla, et de Cn. Pompée. Celle du premier tomba sur l'année avant la Guerre Sociale; c'est à dire, A.U.C. 662. Il n'y avoit donc point de place entre deux pour sa province, ni pour son commandement militaire. Pour ce qui est de Pompée, le cas (je l'avoue) n'est point le même. Outre un mot de Cicéron sur sa quæsture, aucun ancien ne nous a rien dit sur ces honneurs anté-

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antérieurs au consulat. Je conviens même que comme Pompée précéda Sulla dans le consulat il est assez vraisemblable qu'ils suivirent le même ordre dans leur préture. Mais de la vraisemblance d'une chose à son existence il y a du chemin, et je ne saurois pardonner à M. de Vertot d'avoir avancé ce fait sans témoignage, puisque ouvent des circonstances faisoient qu'on ne prit point de province après sa préture. La réflexion là-dessus n'a guère plus de fondement, viz. que l'amour de la patrie leur avoit fait consentir à prendre ces emplois, puisque, selon son propre aveu, ces lieutenans commandoient des armées à part, et avoient le titre de proconsul. Vraiment le grand effort pour ceux qui ne faisoient que sortir de la préture pour accepter un titre qui ne se donnoit qu'à ceux qui avoient été consuls!

Giannone, Hist. Civ. du Royaume de Naples, i. p. 29. tom. Cicero in Orat. ii. de Lege Agrar. contra Rullum, c. 31.

NAPLES.—M. Giannone asserts that Naples did not become a Roman colony before the reign of Vespasian, or at most before that of Augustus: a passage of Cicero well considered will convince us that Naples lost the state of an allied city before the consulate of Cicero, or A. U. C. 690. Cicero, speaking against the Agrarian law of Rullus, says that "Lege permitti (to the decemvirs of that law) ut quæ velint municipia, quas velint veteres colonias, suis colonis occupent. Calenum municipium complebunt: Theanum oppriment; Atellam, Cumas, NEAPOLIN, Pompeios, Nuceriam suis præsidiis devincient. Puteolos vero, qui nunc in sua potestate sunt, suo jure libertateque utuntur. Totos

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novo populo et adventitiis copiis occupabunt." By this passage we see that as that power was only granted to the decemvirs over the municipal towns, and the colonies, that Naples was one of the two; but we know that Naples was never a municipal city; she must then have been a colony at that time.

Scholiast (on Cicero.)—Le vieux Scholiaste, qui nous a donné quelques commentaires sur diverses harangues de Cicéron, fait quelques fautes que je ne laisserai pas passer en silence. I^ment. Cicéron, en énumérant toutes les féries qui pouvoient renvoyer le jugement de Verres jusques à l'année de Rome 684, parle de quelques jeux votifs de Pompée.(1) Asconius nous apprend dans une note,(2) que c'étoient des jeux que Pompée avoit voué pendant la guerre avec Sertoire, en cas qu'il y remportât la victoire. Si le Scholiaste s'étoit contenté de nous dire la même chose tout simplement, tout alloit bien; mais il ajoute une doute si c'étoit dans cette guerre, dans celle contre les pirates, on dans celle de Mithridate que Pompée les voua.(3) Pouvoit-il ignorer que des loix Gabinia et Manilia (qui lui confièrent successivement la conduite de ces deux guerres) la première ne fut faite que A.U.C. 686, et l'autre que l'année suivante? II^ment. Il dit(4) que le royaume de Bithynie parvint au peuple Romain par la mort de Nicomède qui mourut intestat. Il est faux. Nicomède fit un testament par lequel il fit le peuple Romain

(1) Cicero in Verrem, Actio i. c. 10.
(2) Asconius ad eum locum.
(3) Vet. Schol. ad eund.
(4) Idem, ad Orat. pro Lege Manil. c. 2.

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son héritier.(5) III^ment. Il n'est pas vrai qu'Ariobarzanes fut envoyé par les Romains en Bithynie. Il ne fut jamais roi de Bithynie, mais bien de la Cappadoce.(6) IV^ment. Il parle d'un consul Milienus (7) qui fut fait prisonnier par les pirates. Je n'en trouve aucun de ce nom dans les Fastes Consulaires. S'il m'étoit permis de hasarder une conjecture, je dirois que le Milienus du Scholiaste pourroit bien être le C. Bilienus de Cicéron. Il en parle avec éloge, et dit qu'il auroit sûrement obtenu le consulat, si sa prétension n'eût pas tombé justement dans les tems turbulens de Marius.(8) Le Scholiaste auroit bien pu croire qu'il avoit été fait consul en effet.

(5) Appian. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 184. 218. Edit. Steph.

(6) V. eundem, p. 209. aliosque scriptores qui bellum illud narraverunt.

(7) Vet. Schol. ad Orat. pro Lege Manil. c. 12.

(8) Cicero in Bruto, sive de Clar. Orator. c. 47.

RAPIN (Thoyras.)—M. Rapin de Thoyras se trompe quand il dit que l'empereur Fréderic II. laissa par son testament le royaume de Sicile à son fils Henri.(1) On voit par le testament de ce prince qu'il ne démembra pas ses états en Italie. Il les laissa tous entiers à son ainé Conrad; léguant seulement à Henri ou le royaume d'Arles, ou celui de Jérusalem, à l'option du même Conrad. M. Giannone a corrigé Inveges pour la même faute.(2)

N. B. Je me sers de la copie du testament de Fréderic qu'a inséré M. Gianonne, et laquelle il assure, après d'Afflitto, être conforme à celle qu'on conservoit ci-devant dans les archives royales.(3) L'auteur du recueil des actes publics jusqu'à l'an 1700 le rapporte aussi, mais fort en abrégé; et omet même une circonstance fort essentielle, puisque omettant

(1) Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. p. 441.

(2) Giannone, Hist. Civ. du Royaume de Naples, tom. ii. p. 615.

(3) Idem, p. 617-620.

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omettant l'option de Conrad, il fait léguer à Henri par son père le royaume de Jérusalem purement et simplement.(4)

(4)Recueil des Actes Publics, tom. i. p.69. La Haye, 1700.

FRESNOY (Lenglot de.)—Monsieur l'Abbé Lenglot de Fresnoy se trompe lorsqu'il nous dit, (1) que Maximilien I. reçut de sa femme Marie les provinces de Groningue, d'Overissel, et de Frize. Il ne les posséda jamais non plus que son fils Philippe. Ce fut son petit-fils Charles Quint qui s'en rendit maître par des achats.(2)

(1)Méthode pour étud. l'Hist. tom. iv. p. 51. Paris, 1735.

(2) Anderson's Royal Genealogical Tables, p. 603.

HABITS.—Les habits à fleurs passoient chez les anciens non seulement pour un habillement de femme mais même de courtisanes, qui seules avoient droit d'en porter à Sparte, à Athènes, à Syracuse, et chez les Locriens; ou en tout cas c'étoit la parure des gens de plaisir, ou efféminés, comme des eunuques, des maqueraux, des bacchantes, des gens qui montent sur le théâtre—ou tout au plus c'étoit l'équipage des prêtres, ou des femmes en des processions publiques; ou, enfin, celui des épouses. Par la loi Oppia ces habits à fleurs, ou de diverses couleurs, furent défendus aux dames Romaines, et elles n'eurent la permission d'en porter que depuis qu'on leur ôta les habits de pourpre. Cet habillement passoit encore chez les Grecs pour celui des Barbares, comme, entre autres, des rois de Perse. Ces habillemens de femmes, et particulièrement à fleurs, étoient défendus aux hommes par les anciens canons de l'église, comme aux femmes les habits d'homme. Tertullien remarque

Les Césars de Julien, par M. Spanheim, p. 276, 277—Rom. 947.

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marque qu'il ne trouve point d'habillement maudit par Dieu que celui de femme en homme. "Nullum denique cultum a Deo interdictum invenio nisi muliebris in viro." D'où vient aussi que Maimonides dans son traité de l'idolâtrie, défend que l'homme ne se pare des ornemens de femme, et surtout de ces habits de diverses couleurs, et bigarrés? Après tout il y a quelques pères de l'église (pour le dire en passant) qui prétendent que la robe du Seigneur sans couture étoit versicolor. Clément Alexandrin tache de rendre raison de cela.

Cependant il y auroit un passage de Donat qui feroit croire que ces habits de diverses couleurs étoient en usage parmi les jeunes gens. En parlant de la manière dont les acteurs doivent être habillés convenablement aux différens originaux qu'ils représentent, il dit—

(1) Donat. Fragmen. quod in capita Comed. Terent. apparet.

"Adolescentibus discolor attribuitur." (1)*

M. de Bochart, Mém. sur l'ancienne Suisse, tom. i. p 87, 8, 9.

AVENTICUM.—Aussitôt que j'ai compris qu'il falloit chercher les fondateurs d'Aventicum dans les parties méridionales des Gaules, je me suis rappelé qu'il y avoit un peuple dont Pline appèle une des villes Maritima Avaticorum, et que dans le même chapitre cet auteur dit que les Avantici furent joints par l'empereur Galba au département de la Gaule Narbonnoise. M. de Bochart, qui est

* The Adelphi of Terence was acted by the sons and daughters of Hercules II. before Paul III. and the Roman court, at Ferrara. Cynthii J. Baptist. Gyraldi, in Thesaur. Antiquitat. Italiæ. tom. vii, p. 62.

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dans l'idée que l'Helvétie fut peuplée par de colonies des Gaulois méridionaux, croit que les Avantici (car selon lui il faut corriger le premier passage de Pline par le second) furent les fondateurs d'Aventicum. Il dérive ce nom d'Arvent, qui signifie en Celte, eau dont le cours est rapide.

Cicéron, dans sa harangue pour Cornelius Balbus, après avoir allégué les exemples de plusieurs illustres Romains, qui avoit donné la bourgeoisie de Rome à des particuliers des villes alliées de la république, termine cette énumération par celui de M. Crassus qui conféra ce droit à un allié Aventicien. (1) Il est vrai que toutes les éditions de Cicéron font ce particulier bourgeois d'Alatre. Mais comme les manuscrits contredisent cette leçon, Cluvier et Gronovius en doutoient de la bonté. Ce dernier (2) vouloit qu'on lût Aventicensem, au lieu d'Alatrinensem, parceque les noms qu'on trouve dans les manuscrits n'en sont pas fort éloignés, et qu'Alatri, ville fort près de Rome, n'auroit guère été mise par Cicéron dans la même classe que les autres dont il venoit de parler, qui en étoient très éloignées. Mais cette remarque est plus spécieuse que solide. Il n'y a qu'avoir lu ce même plaidoyer de Cicéron avec quelque attention pour sentir qu'un exemple, tiré d'Aventicum, seroit allé directement contre le but de l'orateur. Il veut prouver que les généraux Romains pour pouvoir donner la bourgeoisie de Rome à des particuliers des villes alliées n'avoient pas le soin du consentement des villes mêmes, à moins que la nécessité de ce consentement ne fût stipulée par leurs alliances.

(1) Cicer. pro Balbo, c. 22.

(2) Gronovius ad illum locum, Edit. Cic. Verbug.

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ances. Auroit-il apporté, pour justifier sa thèse, un exemple tiré d'une ville des Helvétiens après nous avoir dit un moment auparavant (3) que les Helvétiens étoient du nombre de ces peuples dont les alliances le portoient? Auroit-il accusé M. Crassus présent d'avoir violé de la sorte une alliance des plus sacrées? Cette remarque est de M. de Bochart (4), mais j'en avois fait la première partie avant d'avoir lu son ouvrage.

(3) Cicer. pro Balbo, c. 13.

(4) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. i. p. 469.

HOLOMMANUS.—Je relèverai une petite faute de ce savant. Cicéron dit (1) qu'un certain Q. Lollius, qui avoit quitté la Sicile pour éviter la tyrannie du Préteur Verres, fut tué en chemin, et qu'on le fit passer pour avoir été tué par les fugitifs. Holommanus, dans sa note à cet endroit, explique le mot fugitif, par ceux "qui in Siciliâ Athenione duce grassabantur:" s'il eut dit "in Italiâ Spartaco duce vel aliquo Spartacano," il auroit parlé plus juste. La rebellion des esclaves en Sicile sous la conduite d'Athénion et de Tryphon, fut finie par la mort de leurs chefs, par M. Aquillius, alors collègue de Marius dans son cinquième consulat. (2) Or ces personnages furent consuls A. U. C. 652. Mais ce meurtre n'auroit pas pu arriver avant A. U. C. 680: la première année du gouvernement de Verres.

(1) Cicero in Verrem, l. iii. c. 25.

(2) Diodor. Siculus in Eclog. lib. xxxvi.

IRISH LANGUAGE.—On croit que l'Irlandois étoit l'ancien langage des Scythes. C'est ce qu'affirment les auteurs même du pays. (1) Brerewood étoit apparemment dans cette idée, puisqu'il met cette

M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 18.

(1) V. la Préface du

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cette langue au nombre des quatorze langues mères, que lui et d'autres ont comptées, qui subsistent en Europe sans la Latine. (2) Il faut convenir que l'Irlandois diffère fort du Gallois, du Bas Breton, et du Basque; mais il n'est pas moins certain qu'on y trouve quantité de mots, qui, s'ils ne sont pas tirés du Latin, viennent de la même source, c'est-à-dire, du Celtique. J'ai rencontré dans l'Irlandois plusieurs termes du langage du peuple du Pays de Vaud; lesquels je n'ai pas trouvé dans les dictionnaires des trois autres dialectes, ni du Germanique. Une preuve de l'antiquité de l'Irlandois est que ses caractères sont purement des lettres Grecques; et que n'en ayant que dix-sept il faut qu'il les ait reçu avant la guerre de Troye, puisqu'il ne fut que pendant ce fameux siège que Palamède ajouta à l'alphabet Grec les quatre lettres qu'on lui attribue; et que de ces quatre l'alphabet Irlandois n'en a aucune, non plus que des quatre dont Simonide fut l'auteur. De sorte que c'est l'alphabet de Cadmus que reçurent les habitans de l'Irlande, et non pas l'alphabet Ionien adopté par toute la Grèce. (3) Les Irlandois n'y ont ajouté que l'F, et comme ils l'écrivent à la Latine et non par φ, il est probable qu'ils ne s'en sont servis que depuis que l'empereur Claude l'eut fait ajouter à l'alphabet Latin. Une langue où ne paroît que celle de Cadmus est assurément de la plus haute antiquité, et s'est conservée plus entière qu'aucune autre qu'on connoisse. A l'égard de son abondance l'auteur du Dictionnaire pose en fait dans sa préface, que de toutes les langues mortes, ou vivantes, aucune

seul Dictionnaire Irlandois que nous ayons. Paris, 1732, chez Guerin.

(2) Brerewood Scrutin. Linguar. c. 4.

(3) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. c. 57.

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cune n'est plus riche en mots, ni plus élégante en expressions que l'Irlandoise.

De Watteville, Histoire de la Confédération Helv. tom. i. p. 169–174.

Coucy (Enguerrand de.)—Le Duc Léopold d'Autriche, mort en 1326, avoit laissé une fille unique, qui fut mariée au sire de Coucy, un des plus gros seigneurs de France. La dot de cette dame avoit été assurée sur plusieurs villes et châteaux de l'Alsace et de l'Argeu. Le sire de Coucy ne se mit jamais en possession de ces domaines. Son fils Enguerrand, qui s'étoit marié à une princesse d'Angleterre, les réclama. Les ducs d'Autriche, ayant refusé de les lui remettre, De Coucy profita de la trève qui venoit de se conclure entre la France et l'Angleterre, et se fit suivre de 40,000 hommes de cette nation, résolu de maintenir ses droits par les armes. Léopold se fortifia de l'alliance des Suisses, et se prépara à opposer ses forces à celles de ses ennemis. Ceux-ci s'approchèrent des frontières de l'Helvétie environ la St. Martin de l'année 1375. Ils firent d'horribles dégâts dans les parties septentrionales de la Suisse, prirent Walenbourg, Balstal, Buren, Altreu, Aarwargen, Fridau, &c. Une partie de leur armée passa la Reus, et la Limmat, et mit tout le pays jusqu'à Wettinger à feu et à sang. Mais un corps considérable de ces troupes fut surpris et défait par les Bernois dans le couvent de Fraubennen, entre Berne et Soleure, la nuit du 26 ou 27 de Décembre, avec la perte de 800 hommes. Le sire de Coucy, voyant que son armée étoit affoiblie, et qu'elle ne pouvoit subsister dans un pays ruiné, prit

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prit le parti de se retirer par l'Alsace. On appèle en Suisse cette armée étrangère du nom de Guglers, à cause des petits chapeaux qu'ils portoient: eugelhut signifiant un chapeau en Allemand.

On voit encore de nos jours (1) une colonne de pierre, monument (érigé si je m'en souviens en 1648) de cette mémorable action près de Fraubennen. D'un côté il y a une inscription Allemande, et de l'autre ces vers Latins.

(1) Je le vis Oct. 15, 1755.

Uxoris dotem repetens Cussinus amatæ
Dux Anglus, frater quam dabat Austriacus;
Per mare trajecit validarum signa cohortum,
Miles ubique premens arva aliena jugo.
Hoc rupere loco Bernates hostica castra,
Multos et cum justo Marte dedêre neci.
Sic Deus Omnipotens ab apertis protegat Ursum, (2)
Protegat occultis hostis ab insidiis.

(2) Les armes de Berne sont un Ours.

Néanmoins, si l'on s'en rapporte à M. de Watteville, il y a deux méprises dans cette courte inscription. I^mo^ Cussinus, ou le sire de Coucy, n'étoit point un général Anglois; il avoit épousé, à la vérité, une princesse d'Angleterre, et son armée étoit principalement composée de troupes non autorisées de cette nation; mais pour Cussinus lui-même, il étoit seigneur François. Sa famille, une des plus illustres de la Picardie, s'éteignit au quinzième siècle. II ^mo^ La femme de ce de Coucy n'étoit point Autrichienne; je viens de dire qu'elle étoit Angloise. La femme de son père étoit Autrichienne, et c'étoit sa dot qu'il redemandoit. J'omets la petite faute de parler d'un duc d'Autriche

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triche son frère quoiqu'elle fut fille unique de Léopold archiduc d'Autriche.*

Primum Westmonasteriensi postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Ingulphi Historia, p. 73. in tom. 1. Rerum Anglicarum Script. a Fell et Gale. Oxon. 1684. Some have doubted, but the editors have found this passage in all MSS. (Gibson's Cambden, Vol. I. p. 305.) Ingulphus boasts of his proficiency in Aristotle and Tully's Rhetoric, yet in 1048 Aristotle was unknown; Oxford lay in ruins, had neither cathedral nor monastery to which the studies were confined. The Divinity Lectures of Robert Pulein in the abbey of Oseney (1129—1135) I consider as the punctum saliens of the University. Cambden, ubi supra. Nicholson, (English Library, p. 150—152.) is free, learned, and lively.

Matthew Paris, Hist. Major, Lond. 1684, gives the first historic titles of the Oxford studies.

In 1209 the clerks applied to *artes liberales;* they lodged three or four together in *hospitia* hired. Provoked by an act of injustice recesserunt ab Oxoniâ ad tria millia clericorum, quam magistri, quam discipuli, ita quod nec unus ex omni *Universitate* remansit. Some went to Cambridge, others to Reading: villani Oxoniæ vacuam reliquerunt, p. 191.

In 1252, convocatâ scholarium universitate quæ de diversis mundi partibus illic studuit, &c. p. 740.

* The Common-place Book from which the preceding articles are taken is dated March, 1755.

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In 1257, statuta Universitatis *antiqua* et approbata. Oxon. Univers. schola secund. Ecclesiæ. p. 811.

The series of Chancellors of the University begins in 1233. Ayliffe's Hist. of Oxford. Vol. II. p. 278.

The first charter of Henry III. is in 1244, (Appendix, p. 6,) but it supposes the previous state of the *University*.

In 1109 Joffrid, Abbot of Croyland, sent a colony of Monks, who opened public schools at Cambridge of Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and Theology after the manner studii Aurelianensis. Ex isto fonte videmus totam Angliam factam frugiferam per plurimos magistros et doctores de Cantabrigiâ exeuntes. (Petri Blesenis Continuatio Ingulphi in Script. Rerum Anglicar. tom. i. p. 114, 115. He died circa 1200.) Curious but spurious: Frater Terricus (frater is probably a mendicant friar) acutissimus sophista, logicam Aristotelis juxta Porphyrii et Averoiz isagogas et commenta, adolescentioribus tradidit. But Averroes was not born till 1131. He interpreted Aristotle 1187—1192, and died after 1200. D'Herbelot, p. 715. Bayle, tom. i. p. 384—91. Saxius places him at 1198.

Επιζητητος δε τινος τινα δει μανθανειν τους παιδας ταυτ' (ειπεν) οις δε ανδρες γενομενοι χρησονται. Agesilaus, Apothegmata Græc. Hen. Steph. 1568. p. 306.

Henry, a Protestant, an Anabaptist, an apostate Monk,

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Monk, a wandering preacher, speciem pietatis habens cujus virtutem penitus abnegavit. His gains were spent ludendo aleis, aut in usus turpiores. Frequenter siquidem post diurnum populi plausum, nocte insecutâ cum meretricibus inventus est, et interdum etiam cum conjugatis. Inquire, si placet, vir nobilis quomodo de Lausanâ civitate exierit, &c. St. Bernard. Epist. 242, tom. i. p. 239. Edit. Mabillon. Venet. 1750.

Juxta lacum etiam LAUSANENSEM totius diei itinere pergens penitus non attendit aut se videre non videt. Cum enim vespere facto de eodem lacû socii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos, ubi lacus ille esset, et mirati sunt universi. S. Bernardi Vita secunda, Auctore Alano (a Monk and Bishop of Auxerre. He died at Clairvaux A. D. 1383) c. 16, No. 45. Opera, tom. vi. p. 1383. 1^mo. Vet. iii. tom. i. p. 1232.

DEMETRIUS SOTER.—Excerpta quædam (ex antiquissimo MS. codice nuper in Ambrosianâ Bibliothecâ reperto) nunc primum in lucem edita, Mediolani (c'est à dire à Rome) MDCCXLIV. v idus Januarias. Horis antilucanis, superiorum permissu.

Argumentum.—Demetrius, Seleuci filius, Soter postea dictus, clam ex urbe ad patriam liberandam proficiscitur.

Heroum soboles, sceptri Demetrius hæres
Antiqui, Romæ lentos inglorius annos
Degebat

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Degebat, non sponte suâ, tristemque juventam
Mulcebat, sylvis captus studiisque Dianæ.
Longa sed interea patrium trans æquora regnum
Vastabat, populis et Dîs invisa, potestas,
Captivique Lares Dominum clamore ciebant.
Haud paucis cultus, sed plurimus observatus,
Quid faceret juvenis? Venatum ad littora Circes
Fingit iter de more, canes, solitamque cohortem
Præmittit comitum, vigilem sic decipit urbem,
Ignotasque vias, ignotus et ipse, capessit.

Demetrius ante discessum amicis mentem aperit.

Sit satis; audivi: jam me nec vester, amici,
Fallit amor, pietasque meæ studiosa juventæ,
Nec generosa fides; et qua sapientia nullam
Horret inire viam, qua ducit ad ardua virtus,
Hac capienda mihi est. Hanc olim numina legem
Nascenti posuere, lubens mea fata capessam.
Non me degenerem, non pulchræ laudis egentem
Arguat aut præsens, aut postera nesciat ætas,
Nec proavis quæ terra meis regnata superbum
Nomen et imperium late diffundit in oras
Sordeat ulterius, dominis calcata protervis,
Sed servatorem norint in principe cives.

Le Cardinal Monti fit ces vers à l'occasion du voyage du jeune Chevalier de St. George en France, qui partit de Rome, le 5 des Ides, ou le 9 de Janvier, 1744.

Since the year 1756 Russia has been engaged almost without interruption in the Prussian, the Polish, and the Turkish wars. During the last mentioned war the Empress at the same time employed *seven armies*, (on the Danube, in Crim Tartary,

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tary, in Georgia, in Greece, in Poland, in Ingria, and against the rebel Pugascheff,) and four fleets, on the Baltic, the Archipelago, the Black Sea, and the Danube. Whilst she was making these extraordinary efforts she supported the splendour of her court, encouraged the arts of England, France, and Italy, by her expensive orders, which were most punctually paid; and increased one third the salaries of almost all her officers. As soon as the war was at an end she suppressed some taxes (about seven or eight millions of French livres); and she is now paying off about ten millions which she borrowed in Holland, and which forms the whole national debt of Russia.

The army at present consists of four regiments of Guards, one cavalry and three infantry, that compose the formidable body of about 10,000 men which has so often disposed of the throne; of one hundred and five regiments of infantry (1600 men each) making about 170,000 men. To these we must add the artillery between 20 and 30,000, and the cavalry, dragoons, &c. between 40 and 50,000. Upon the whole we may compute the establishment of regular forces at about 250,000; and had the Turkish war continued, both men and money were provided for an augmentation of 50,000 more. To this establishment we must add the stationary garrisons of the remote provinces, and the numerous bodies of irregulars, Cossacks, Calmucks, &c. which are always ready to obey the commands of the Russian monarch.

There is not any direct land-tax in Russia, and the revenue

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revenue arises from the capitation, the consumption, and the customs. 1. The clergy and nobility are exempt from the capitation, which is assessed chiefly on the peasants; but as these are all *villains* the tax ultimately falls on their masters, and must be tolerably proportioned to their landed property. The master, who enjoys the fruit of his slave's labour, is obliged to give him a piece of land to cultivate, sufficient not only for his own subsistence, but likewise for the payment of the tax which is estimated at about four livres on the head of every male, from the moment of his birth to the age of sixty. Not less than ten millions of persons are rated to the capitation, which consequently must amount to about forty millions. 2. The nobles have the exclusive privilege of making salt, and distilling spirituous liquors, on their estates, but they can dispose of them only to the empress. On the other hand the licensed venders of those necessary articles can purchase them only in the imperial magazines. By this double monopoly the crown gains two or three hundred per cent. and raises an indirect excise. 3. The customs, both on exports and imports, are excessively high; but they are exacted only on the frontiers of the empire, and the interior commerce is entirely free. To these great articles we must add the mines, the tribute of furs, &c., which in the whole form a revenue of one hundred and fifty millions of French livres. The population of Russia, without including the savages of the north,

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north, or the *wandering* Tartars, whose allegiance is voluntary and precarious, has been computed at twenty-two millions.

From the Prince Bariatinski, Minister from Russia, at Paris.

Peter III. was poisoned in a glass of brandy. On his refusing a second glass he was forcibly thrown down and strangled with a handkerchief by Orlof le Balafré, Teplow, Potemkin, and the youngest of the Princes Baratinski. When the body was exposed the marks of violence on the neck, &c. were evident. Orlof instantly returned to Petersburg and appeared at the Empress's dinner in the disorder of a murderer. She caught his eye, rose from table, called him into her closet, sent for Count Panin, to whom she imparted the news, and returned to dinner with her usual ease and cheerfulness.

These particulars are taken from a history of the Revolution in 1762 composed by M. Rulhière, a French officer, who was an attentive spectator, and who afterwards conversed with the principal actors. Prudence prevents him from publishing, but he reads his Narrative to large companies, and I have already heard it twice. It is an entertaining spirited piece of historical composition not unworthy of being compared with Vertot's Conspiracy of Portugal. But I find that Rulhière's fidelity is impeached by persons perhaps partial, but certainly well-informed; by the *Baron de Goltz*

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Goltz the Prussian minister, by the Count de Swaloff, Elizabeth's favourite, and by the Princess d'Askoff herself.

The deaths of religious persons of both sexes is about 1800 per annum; and as there is some reason to believe that about one out of thirty die every year, the whole number of persons in France, engaged in the monastic life, is about 54,000, of whom we may reckon 24,000 men and 30,000 women.

M. Garnier, and the originals of the Controle Général.

MEXICO.—The ancient empire was said to contain ten millions of souls: at present about one.(1) The city once 200,000, now 50,000,—afflicted by inundation. Los Angelos, near Tlascala, has gained by its loss.

(1) Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes, tom. iii. p. 75. Id. p. 117.

From the mines 65,000,000 (of livres) are annually coined at Mexico. The king has a fifth on the silver, a tenth on the gold, as those mines are more casual. The gold coined is about a fifth of the silver.

Id. p. 108. 109.

Mexico is highly taxed, yet the net revenue returned to Europe is only 6,300,800*l.* Las Casas persuaded the Court of Spain to restore liberty, but not property, to the Mexican Indians. They are no where so happy, noble, and ingenious as in his diocese of Chiapa.

Id. p. 114. Id. p. 77.

1. Immortality of the soul rejected only by the barbarous Otomites, believed by the Mexicans.

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Clavigero, Storia Antica del Messico, tom. ii. p. 4. —2. Mictlänteuchlti, God of Hell and his wife—a subterraneous dwelling, black priests, nocturnal sacrifices, &c. p. 17.—3. The Hades in the centre of the earth; gate of Paradise, perilous journey, pleasant abode with the God of Waters—the Supreme-Heaven in the sun, p. 4, 5, 6—94.—4. The souls of those who died in war or child-bearing held the first place; the second for the drowned, the dropsical, the thunderstruck, infants, &c.; vulgar deaths in the third, p. 5.—5. Noble Tlascalans. —6. A similar life and body? Utensils, arms, gold deposited in sepulchres. Their Techichi slain to accompany them (p. 94—99). The same as the Alco, a mute melancholy sort of dog, now extinct. (Tom. i. p. 73.) False criticism on Pope. (Warton, vol. ii. p. 129.)—7. Transmigration of plebeian souls into vile animals, of noble into the humming bird. (p. 5) Beautiful image—Buffon's fine description of 43 species of Oiseaux-Mouches and Colibris. (tom. xxi. p. 1—64, in 4to.)

Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes, tom. iii. p. 392. Id. p. 418.

SPAIN contained thirteen or fourteen millions before the discovery of America.

In the year 1747 only 7,423,590 souls, including 180,046 head of clergy.

Id. p. 388.

Her manufactures flourished till the expulsion of the Moors. Segovia cloths the best in Europe.

Id. p. 401.

60,000 silk looms at Seville. About fifty millions (French) of merchandizes are sent annually from Cadiz to America. About an eighth part is Spanish property.

About

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About seventeen millions of piasters (89,250,000*l.*) arrive annually at Cadiz from America in gold and silver. The account seems particular and exact. Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes, tom. iii. p. 431.

PORTUGAL.—The number of its inhabitants has sunk from 3,000,000 to 1,800,000. Id.

BRASIL.—Its gold mines (under the tropic of Capricorn) were discovered about the year 1730. The Portuguese content themselves with the quantity which the torrents wash down into the vallies. It amounts annually to about 45,000,000*l.* The king has one fifth. The importation diminishes the proportion of gold to silver. Id. p. 528.

The mine of diamonds was discovered about the year 1730—given to an exclusive company, and the country round it dispeopled—the government—who is the agent in Europe—under articles to sell no more annually than 1,250,000*l.*—bought and cut by the Dutch and English, chiefly sold in France—are 10 per cent inferior to East India diamonds. Id. p. 534.

	Carats.
Great Mogul's . . .	279 1/16
The Great Duke's . .	139
The Sancy	106
The Pitt	136
The King of Portugal's (inestimable if not a topaz.)	1280

RUSSIA.—To what causes may we ascribe the abject slavery of the Russians, the brethren of

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those hardy Poles and Bohemians, who so long asserted and abused the right of freedom? Perhaps to the following causes. 1. The Russians derived the knowledge of Christianity and the rudiments of a civil education from a servile and superstitious people, the Greeks of Constantinople. 2. The Tartar conquerors broke and degraded the spirit of the Russian nation. 3. After the Russians had lost all communication with the Euxine and the Baltic, they were wholly separated and in a great measure secluded from the rest of Europe, and the civilized part of the human race. 4. The accidental advantage of fire-arms enabled the Czars to extend their empire over the north of Asia; and the power of prejudice was enforced by that of the sword.

HERCULES.

——— Qualemque vagæ post crimina noctis
Thestius obstupuit *toties* socer.
Statius in Sylv. l. iii. Ep. i. v. 42.

The question is therefore *quoties*, and according to the three different tales which prevailed among the Greeks, the amorous prowess of Hercules will excite the idea of a *man*, of a *hero*, or of a *god*.

I. When young Hercules was six feet high and only eighteen years of age, he hunted the lion on Mount Cithæron in Bœotia, and was hospitably entertained by Thestius, prince of Thespiæ. Every night, by the command of their father, one of the fifty daughters of Thestius shared the bed of Hercules; and the young hero embraced all these *virgins* with

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with such undistinguishing and irresistible vigour, that at the expiration of fifty prolific nights he was still persuaded of the identity of his companion. Such is the modest and perhaps the original account of the first of the labours of Hercules, as it is given by Apollodorus.(1)

(1) Hist. Poet. l. ii. c. 4. p. 96.

II. According to another relation the conversion of the fifty virgins into wives and mothers was effected by the indefatigable Hercules within the space of *seven days*. Athenæus(2) has extracted this anecdote from the writings of Herodotus, or rather Herodotus the Lycian, who, as it appears by another quotation,(3) had composed at least seventeen books on the actions of Hercules.

(2) Deipnosophist. l. xiii. p. 556.

(3) Id. l. ix. p. 410.

III. But the popular opinion which at length prevailed ascribed to Hercules the singular honour of consummating in one and the same night his fifty, or at least his forty-nine marriages. This miracle, which seems to be insinuated by Diodorus Siculus,(4) is positively affirmed by Pausanias,(5) and that diligent traveller has recorded the virtue of one of the daughters of Thestius, who refusing to submit to the common fate of her sisters, was invested by Hercules with the sacerdotal dignity, and condemned to a life of perpetual celibacy. The Christian apologists have adopted this third account, which according to their ideas of merit, was the least honourable to the son of Jupiter. "Hercules, sanctus deus, natas quinquaginta de Thestio, *nocte unâ* perdocuit, et nomen virginitatis exponere et genetricum pondera sustinere."(6)

(4) Id. l. iv. p. 274. Edit. Wess.

(5) Id. l. ix. p. 763. Edit. Kuhr.

(6) Arnobius, l. iv. p. 145. His Commentator Elmenhorst, p. 144, quotes several of the fathers on this interesting topic.

The vigour of a demigod can be matched only

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by that of a prophet. In the space of a single hour each of the eleven wives of Mahomet successively acknowledged him as a tender and active husband. This anecdote is related by Belon on the faith of an Arabic book entitled "Des Bonnes Coutumes de Mahomet."(7)

(7) Observations dans ses Voyages, l. iii. c. x. p. 179.

See Le Clerc (Gorlus)'s Edition. Amsterdam, 1703.

Severus (Cornelius).—The poem of Ætna, though its author is praised by Ovid and Quintilian, discovers very little taste or invention. The philosophy is narrow, and probably erroneous (see the long descant on the virtues of the millstone); the style languid, harsh, and perplexed. Instead of the ornaments of nature and propriety, the barren writer consumes a fourth of his poem in mythological stories which he affects to despise. The prettiest passages are the complaint of the preference given to the lucrative over the curious arts (v. 250—283), and the power of fire (533—561).

Παίδεραστια.—Herodotus observes with the most placid indifference that the Persians were fond of adopting new customs and new pleasures. From the Medes they borrowed their dress, from the Egyptians their breast plates. By the Greeks they were taught to forget the distinction of sexes, απ' Ελληνων μαθοντες παισι μισγονται.(1)

(1) L. i. c. 135.

Noue (de la).—The situation and behaviour of de la Noue at the siege of La Rochelle is perhaps without parallel in history. 1. Such was his established reputation for honour and virtue, that in the

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the heat of the civil wars of France immediately after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Catherine of Medicis and her son entrusted this zealous Protestant to negociate with the Rochellois. 2. By the election of the people, and with the consent of the court, he accepted the military command in the revolted city. 3. During the siege of La Rochelle, he perfórmed with admirable courage and conduct all the duties of a soldier and a mediator. 4. When the fanaticism of the Rochellois had rejected equitable conditions of peace, he obeyed the summons of the Duke of Anjou, repaired to the royal standard, and afterwards retired to his own house, with the esteem and confidence of both parties.

Such wonders require much stronger evidence than the partial authority of a biographer: and it is almost as singular that they are attested in all the material circumstances, by D'Aubigny, a violent protestant, (1) by Thuanus, a moderate philosopher, (2) and by Davila, a bigotted catholic. (3) The testimony of Davila is the more valuable as he betrays some inclination to *suspect* the *intentions* of de la Noue, in his return to the royal camp.

(1) Hist. Universelle, tom. ii. p. 34—45.
(2) Hist. sui Temporis, liii. 12. lvi. 5.
(3) Istoria delleGuerre Civile di Francia, tom. i. p. 326–330. Edit. Lond.

SHOES.—The practice of nailing shoes to the hoofs of horses, &c. was unknown to the ancients; who occasionally tied them with strings round the feet of those animals. (1)

(1) Gesner, Lexicon ad Script. de Re Rustica, p. 132, 133.

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HINTS.

HISTORIANS, friends to virtue?

Yes,—with exceptions.

1. Allow great latitude in the means.

2. Incline more to personal than to social virtues.

Difference of the civil wars in France and England.

1. The English caused by riches and long peace. The French by long wars and impatience of ease. Union of the House of Commons. Power and discords of the Guises, Bourbons, &c.

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2. The English chiefly used the axe; the French the dagger.—Contrast, Mary Queen of Scots beheaded,—the Marshal d'Ancre murdered. Cause of this difference,—the superior corruption of the French?—Equity of the English? Fanaticism? Independence of the French nobles?—The custom borrowed from the Italians and communicated to the Scotch.

3. The English left to themselves. The Pope, Spain,

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Spain, England, &c. took part in the French wars. The Duke of Mayenne preferred to the Admiral de Coligny.

Davila's general Errors.

1. The election and even existence of Pharamund doubtful. The assembly and resolution of the Franks chimerical.

2. The stability of their government ridiculous. It varied every age.*

3. The Salic Law not fundamental: established by accidents in the 14th century.

4. The first prince had no inherent right to the Regency. The point is yet undetermined.

Henry III. studied politics with an Italian abbé. Vanity of that science. Ignorance why *we* have acted—how *we* shall act—how *others* will act. Our sense, eloquence, secrecy, &c. the only principles assisted by the confidence of others.—Example of Henry III. his inactivity, his violence. Of Henry IV. The proper time for changing his religion; how very nice. If too soon the Catholics would be suspicious; if too late grown desperate.

The effect of civil wars on the minds of men. A general ferment of fanaticism, discord, and faction. Two singular exceptions. Montaigne in his retire-

* See Mably's Observations sur l'Histoire de France, &c.

ment.

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ment. Henry IV. on the throne. He loved and trusted mankind.—How different from Charles II.!

France little altered by 40 years civil war. The same limits. The succession attacked but preserved. The regal authority unimpaired. Violent principles detested and forgotten.

Power of the governors of provinces, direct and absolute over the military. Their levies, expeditions, disposal of offices, strong places, gentlemen and guards—indirect over the finances and justice; only checked by the Parliaments.

The Duke of Mayenne, &c. wanted to make them hereditary.—The followers of Henry IV. made the same demand; had he consented, the feudal system was again established.

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1. French cavalry famous in the 16th century—All noblesse, 5000 gentlemen at once in the army of Henry IV. Brave but impatient of labour and fatigue. Laid aside their lances, and fought with pistols and carbines. The custom blamed but at last adopted.

2. The Spanish infantry well disciplined. Walloons, Italians. The Duke of Parma. Retreat from before Amiens. Saying of Henry IV.

3. Swiss phalanx. March from Meaux.

4. English and Germans, brave but undisciplined.

Religious wars.

1. Persecution inspires union, obstinacy, and at last

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last resentment.—A sect becomes a party. Why Christianity suffered so long.—Greeks and Asiatics—Objection from martyrs—Difference of active and passive courage.—Chinese.

2. Connexion of religion and politics. The leaders seldom free from enthusiasm, or the followers from ambition.

3. Other passions mix with these. Massacre of Paris owing to revenge—of Charles IX.—of Guise—of the Parisians.

The ruling passion? very rare. Most passions confined to times, place, persons, circumstances.—Love, hatred, revenge, jealousy, vanity, &c.—Patriotism seldom even a passion.—Ambition generally mixed with other passions,—often subservient to them—when pure, as in Cæsar, Richelieu, must succeed or perish—Avarice perhaps the only ruling permanent passion.

"Search then the ruling passion, there alone
"The fools are constant, and the wise are known," &c.
POPE.

Bobinet in the Comtesse d'Escarbagnes, and Sir Hugh in the Merry Wives of Windsor—ridiculous resemblance without probability of imitation.

The Popish worship like the Pagan? Certainly. Huetius's Ode will serve for either Mary or Diana—But this resemblance probably without imitation—Reasons. 1. Images, ornaments, garlands, lights, odours, music, affect the senses of all men —are

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—are found in the worship of the Indians, Chinese, Americans, &c.

2. Images opposed whilst the Pagans subsisted, received as soon as they were extinct.

3. The jubilee invented by Priests who had scarcely heard of the secular games.

4. Monks and relics of Martyrs, the favourite superstitions of the 4th century, detested by the Pagans.

Middleton, elegant and just (in facts), carries his parallel too far—the sacerdotal order on quite different principles from that of old Rome—Warburton dogmatic, just in his inference, weak in his argument.

See Huetii Commentarius, p. 258—262.

Freedom of Thought.

1. Infallible authority allows not the faculties of the mind fair play—May be just and happy, but is a yoke—Faith of the Pagan light and easy,—of the Christian binding and comprehensive—of the Papist variable—Plutarch, Tillotson, and Bellarmin.

2. Authority of Doctors,—a voluntary slavery under the name of reason—how common!—the ancient sects—professed philosophers how bigotted—Romans, &c. more liberal, heard several before they chose—obstinate in their choice, yet sometimes changed.

3. Authority of our own systems. Men of imagination dogmatic.—Bolingbroke.—True freedom and

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and scepticism—ease and pleasantry—Bayle and a student of Salamanca.

A free-thinker may be rational or wild, superficial or profound—however, the road is open before him and his sight clear.

Freedom of individual relative to general slavery—an Englishman may reject with contempt what an Italian examines with caution—yet the Italian the free-thinker—il voto sanguinario of Muratori—the tenets of Atterbury and Courayer nearly the same, their manner of thinking how different—the one tended to slavery, the other to liberty.

Maxim of La Bruyère of governments; when quiet how ever disturbed! when disturbed how ever quiet! very just.—Supported by the interest of a few, courtiers, priests, soldiers—real power of the latter—honour and attachment—despotic government more secure in large states—indolence, prejudices, &c. of the multitude—chain of imitation—power of habit—necessity of order—every conspiracy a new society—danger of each individual—extreme danger of strong passions and great talents—when the charm is once broken, every man feels his real strength, and despises the idol.—hopes succeed to fears—the bond of faction grows stronger, that of government weaker—vicissitude.

Character and conduct of Brutus—obstinate patriotism of Scipio and Cato after the battle of Pharsalia—

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salia—collect a formidable force in Africa(1)—second civil war—Brutus the nephew and disciple of Cato—remained quiet in Italy—studied eloquence with Cicero—their panegyrics on Cato(2)—attended with no danger.

The more moderate patriots had submitted to Cæsar—Cicero, Varro, Marcellus, &c.—their motives, horror of civil war, despair of success, cruelty of the Pompeian party, Cæsar's mildness, hopes that he would restore the Republic—their private life, melancholy complaints. Cicero's boldness. (3)

Brutus submitted immediately after the battle—made the first advances—revealed Pompey's designs, (4) was admitted into friendship and confidence—Proconsul of the Cisalpine Gaul(5)—his equity and mildness (6)—importance of the province, military force (7)—had the war been trans-

(1) Lucan. Pharsal. ix. 18, &c.

——— Magni post funera, partes
Libertatis erunt.

Hist. de Bello Afric. c. 1, 2, &c. &c.—M. Guichardt's Military Comment.

(2) Cic. Orator. c. 10.—Ad Attic. xiii. 46; xii. 21.

(3) See Cicero to Atticus, Varro, Papirius, Pætus, Cecinna, &c.—Pro Mariell. 8, 9. pro Ligario 3, et passim.

(4) Plut. in Brut. Bayle au mot *Brutus*.

(5) Plut. Aurel. Victor de V. J. C. 82. Cic. ad Fam. vi. 6. xiii. 10, &c.

(6) Cic. Orator. c. 10.—Plut.

(7) Montesquieu, Grandeur des Romains, c. xi. Ac. Philippic. iii. c. 5.

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ferred to Italy, Brutus must have betrayed Cæsar or the republic.

His further honours, first prætor and consul elect (1)—preferred to Cassius—no freedom of election (2)—voluntary engagements—to obey the decree (3)—to defend the person of Cæsar (4)—no faith with tyrants (5)—excuse rather than motive.

Respect for Brutus (6)—tyrannicide, hatred of kings—greatness of Rome—fame of Cæsar, humanity of Brutus.

> **In scelus it Pharium, Romani pœna tyranni;**
> **Exemplumque perit. (7)**
>
> **L'exemple, que tu dois, périroit avec toi. (8)**

Fine imitation—the sentiment itself truly Roman—great in Lucan's mouth—far greater in Pompey's widow—has a sublime effect in the tragedy, as it engages Cornelia to discover the conspiracy, and save the life of her enemy.

Thucydides and Guicciardini in the true station for historians of their own times—mistake of Mr.

(1) Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 56. 58. Plut.

(2) Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 41. 76.—Lucan. v. 381, &c.

> ——— Finget solemnia campi
> Et non admissæ *dirimit* suffragia plebis.

Leg. *diribet*, meo periculo.

(3) Appian de Bell. Civ. l. ii. p. 494.

(4) Cic. pro Marcell. c. 10.

(5) Appian de B. C. l. ii. p. 515.

(6) Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 72. M. Auton. et August. apud Plut. in Brut.

(7) Lucan, x. 343.

(8) Le Pompée de Corneille, acte iv. scèn. 4.

Wharton

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Wharton as to the latter (1)—both acquainted with the business of peace and war—their characters procured them every information—had studied the greatest men of their times—better acquainted with them all, than each of them was with the others—personal knowledge of great men, the chief advantage of their personal memoirs—Disappointed in those of Cæsar—we perceive the scholar and the soldier, we lose the man—except in the simplicity with which he relates his greatest actions—the memoirs of Xenophon much more characteristic—those of De Retz still more so—pity the events are so little interesting.

(1) Adventurer, No. 123.

RE-

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REMARKS

ON

BLACKSTONE'S COMMENTARIES,

REFERRED TO IN MR. GIBBON'S MEMOIRS.

THIS excellent work, which Mr. Blackstone read as Vinerian Professor, may be considered as a rational System of the English Jurisprudence, digested into a natural method, and cleared of the pedantry, the obscurity, and the superfluities which rendered it the unknown horror of all men of taste.

Unfortunately for this useful science, the foreign clergy, who poured in shoals into England after the Norman conquest, had little relish for the old common law of this country; they had formed the design of erecting upon its ruins the new system of civil and canon law which had just begun to revive in the court of Rome and the Italian Universities. The artful designs of these ecclesiastics were however constantly disappointed by the steady opposition of the nobility and laity, who supported the municipal law of England against these innovations; till at last, despairing of success, the clergy affected to despise what they were unable to destroy, and withdrew almost entirely from the secular tribunals. The Court of

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Chancery, of which they retained the direction, adopted many of the forms of the civil law, and as they were the sole masters of the two universities, they easily proscribed a science which they abhorred, and reduced the students of the common law to the necessity of erecting peculiar schools in London, and within the neighbourhood of the courts of justice. Although two hundred years have now elapsed since the Reformation, yet the reverence for established customs will easily account for so material a defect in our academical character not having been sooner corrected.

I have entirely omitted a metaphysical inquiry upon the nature of laws in general, eternal and positive laws, and a number of sublime terms, which I admire as much as I can without understanding them. Instead of following this high priori road, would it not be better humbly to investigate the desires, fears, passions, and opinions of the human being; and to discover from thence what means an able legislator can employ to connect the private happiness of each individual with the observance of those laws which secure the well-being of the whole.

Mr. Blackstone speaks with uncommon respect of the old common law, which the generality of lawyers highly prefer to the statute law. He will find it however difficult to persuade an impartial reader that old customs (begun in barbarous ages, and since continued from a blind reverence to antiquity) deserve more respect than the positive decrees of the legislative power. I can indeed suspect

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suspect that a general rule which is gathered only from a rude and prodigious mass of particular examples and opinions will easily acquire a prolixity and an uncertainty which will at last render the priests of Themis the sole interpreters of her oracles.

I wish Mr. Blackstone had talked a little less of Egbert, and of a right suspended from Edward the Confessor to James I. Such a suspension must be equivalent to a total extinction.*

* The remainder, being principally extracts, is omitted.

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INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.

1. Mr. Hurd (English Commentary on Horace, tom. ii. p. 38, &c.) represents himself as the first discoverer of the Allegory in the third Georgic; and as such receives the compliments of his friend Warburton. (Divine Legation, vol. i. p. 295.) The Jesuit Catrou had however explained it upon the same principle many years before. (Virgile de Catrou, tom. ii. p. 452, &c.)

2. M. Dacier (V. Horace de Dacier, sur le v. 67 de la première Satire du l. ii.) is doubly mistaken in supposing that the Metellus of Lucilius was the Metellus Numidicus; between whom and Scipio Africanus, some jealousy had arisen from their several African exploits. 1. The sense of Horace supposes that Scipio was an impartial judge; consequently no adversary of Metellus. 2. Scipio had never an opportunity of being jealous of the other's African glory. Scipio died in the consulship of M. Aquilius and C. Sempronius. (Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 4.) A.U.C. 624. (V. Pigh. Annal. ad ann.) Metellus was consul with the province of Numidia in 644. (Pigh. ad ann.) M. Dacier might also have considered that the intimacy which the satirist enjoyed with Scipio, supposes him much older than

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than twenty when that hero died, and consequently that Eusebius brings his birth too low (to the 158th Olympiad.) M. Bayle (Dictionnaire au mot Lucilius, Not. G.) drew the same conclusion, though from less decisive circumstances.

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3. Mr. Hume would infer from the list of the Belgic army in Cæsar, (de Bell. Gallico, l. ii. c. 4.) the number of inhabitants in all Gaul. He justly enough considers Belgium (more properly the Belgic Gaul) as one fourth of the whole; at least with regard to population: but he forgot that not above half the Belgic nations entered into the alliance; which circumstance must double the calculation. (V. Hume's Essays, in 4to. 1758. p. 247.) It is wonderful that Mr. Wallace (Numbers of Mankind, p. 71, &c. Appendix, p. 312, &c.) should rather choose to refute him by the most improbable conjectures, than by so plain a fact. In the same place Mr. Hume observes, that the numbers in Cæsar are to be depended upon; as the Greek translation checks the original. Mr. Hume must know that this version (which is a very indifferent one) is attributed by the learned to Gaza or Planudes; and consequently not older than our most recent MSS.

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4. In the Notitia of the Western Empire, we meet among the officers of the city of Rome with the Consularis Aquarum. I believe that this employ no longer subsisted in the Theodosian age. 1. Because it appears here out of its rank, and

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amongst the subalterns. 2. Because we find no commission for it among the formulæ of Cassiodorus. 3. Because the functions of this place are exactly the same with the Comes Formarum, who is very well known in those times. I therefore suspect that the Consularis Aquarum was lost in the Comes Formarum about the age of Constantine.

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5. Abbé Mongault had decided, that the Nice, where Brutus pleaded before Cæsar for King Dejotarus, was the Italian and not the Bithynian city of that name. (Epîtres de Cicéron à Atticus, l. xiv. 1.) Dr. Middleton (Life of Cicero, v. ii. p. 407.) has echoed it from him, with a severe censure upon the Jesuits Catrou and Rouillé. Both leader and follower are mistaken. 1. Nice in Italy was a wretched town among the Alps, where Cæsar upon his return from Spain would never have stopped to try a cause which he could so easily try a few days afterwards at Rome. Nice in Bithynia was a great city, (in the neighbourhood of Galatia,) through which Cæsar must have passed in his progress, when "Jura in tetrarchas, reges, civitates distribuit;" (Hist. de Bell. Alex. c. 78.) nay, we are told in the same chapter that he actually decided a cause against Dejotarus. Brutus appears to have been in Asia about that time. 2. Cicero's Dialogue de Claris Oratoribus was written after Brutus's oration for Dejotarus. (V. c. 3.) It was likewise written before the death of Marcellus, (c. 71.) who was killed A.U.C. 707. (V. Fabric. in Vit. Ciceron. ad ann.) Therefore the oration was in

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in 706, when Cæsar was in Asia, not in 708 when he was returning from Spain. Although the dialogue of Cicero may be feigned, yet we know how very attentive the ancients were in preserving the chronology of these kind of fictions. (C. 60.) The only foundation of Mongault's opinion seems to be some obscure places (Epist. ad Attic. l. xiii. 39, 40.) where Cicero hints at a journey Brutus made to meet Cæsar, but without any relation either to Nice or Dejotarus.

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6. Cicero (pro Lege Manilia, c. 4) speaks of Ecbatana, as the royal seat of Mithridates. I suppose it is not necessary to prove that Ecbatana was the capital of Media, or that Media was never a part of that prince's empire. Tully was probably but an indifferent geographer, and the celebrated name of Ecbatana sounded extremely well. A lesson for critics!

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7. Mr. Guthrie (English Translation of Cicero's Letters to Atticus, l. ix. 10.) translates Getæ by Goths; a barbarous name which was first heard of 250 years after Cicero's death. V. Cluverii German. l. iii.

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8. Hirtius must be mistaken when he says (De Bell. Gall. l. viii. c. 46.) that Q. Cicero was sent into winter quarters in Belgium, when it appears that he was serving under his brother in Cilicia the 13th of October (Cicer. ad Attic. l. v. 20.) of

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the same year, A. U. C. 702. (V. Pigh. ad annum.)

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9. M. Guichardt (Mémoires Militaires sur les Grecs et les Romains, tom. ii. p. 220.) attributes the stay of Cæsar in Egypt not to Cleopatra, but to the Etesian winds, which Hirtius seems to confirm. But this reason or pretence could only relate to a very inconsiderable part of the nine months (Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. p. 484.) which he spent there; since the season of the Etesian winds is over some time before the autumnal equinox (V. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. ii. c. 47) and Cæsar did not land in Egypt before the middle of August. The proof of this depends upon an accurate survey of the then irregular Roman Calendar. I adopt the system of M. de la Nauze (V. Mémoires de Littérature, tom. xxvi.) as it appears to me far more probable than that of Archbishop Usher. In general some light may be thrown upon Cæsar's transactions in Egypt.

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10. Sallust is no very correct historian. I blame, 1. His Chronology. Let any one consider the context of his history from the siege of Numantia to the Consulship of Calphurnius Bestia. (V. Bell. Jugurth. c. 5—29.) A fair reader can never imagine a space of more than five or six years. There were really twenty-two. (V. Pigh. ad ann. U. C. 620 et 642.) 2. His Geography. Notwithstanding his laboured description of Africa, nothing can be more confused than his Geography, without either

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either division of provinces or fixing of towns. We scarce perceive any distance between Capsa and the river Mulucha (Bell. Jugurthin. c. 94—97, &c.) situated at the two extremities of Numidia, perhaps 500 miles from each other. 3. Having undertaken a particular history of the Jugurthine war, he neither informs us of the fall of the conquered province nor of the captive king.

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11. M. de Montesquieu quotes the famous inscription of the Rubicon as ancient and authentic. (Considérations sur la Grandeur des Romains, c. xi. p. 123.) We may excuse Blondus, and Leander Alberti, for having been deceived by so very gross an imposition, which carries its own condemnation along with it; has been regularly confuted by Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 297.) and must be rejected by every scholar in Europe.

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12. M. Muratori is grossly mistaken in the interpretation of a passage of Olympiodorus preserved by Photius. (V. Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 83.) The historian speaks of several rich senators who enjoyed an annual income of forty centenaries of gold, others of fifteen, others of ten, &c. The annalist understands by a centenary of gold 100,000 pieces of gold, which he supposes nearly equivalent to the crowns or ducats of our time. But the real signification of centenary, κεντηνάριον, means only one hundred pounds weight of gold (which was the general and legal computation under the lower empire). I owe Salmasius the justice of observing,

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serving, that he has given the true explanation of this word. (V. Comment. ad Script. Hist. August, p. 418.) Muratori's erroneous reckoning would increase the fortunes of these wealthy senators in the enormous proportion of at least seven to one.

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13. M. Freret justifies the common reading of Pliny the Naturalist (l. iii. 5) which allows 13,200 paces for the circuit of Rome; by an ingenious calculation drawn from the measure of the surfaces of the fourteen regions as set down in the Notitia. The circumference deduced from them is 13,549 paces. This seeming agreement is a real contradiction. Pliny only speaks of the narrower boundaries of Servius Tullius. The Rome of the Notitia (the fourteen regions) comprized all that was contained within the more extensive walls of the Emperor Aurelian. (V. Mém. de Littérature, tom. xxiv. p. 531, &c.

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14. Sir William Temple (V. his Works in folio, tom. i. p. 223) has discovered a fundamental law in the Mamluk empire, which the Mamluks themselves were totally unacquainted with. "The son of a Sultan might inherit his father's private fortune, but he was for ever excluded from the succession. The throne was elective, and the election confined to the native Circassians, who had been brought slaves into Egypt, and had served as private soldiers in the Mamluk bands." The throne was indeed elective like the Roman empire in the third century; but the army elected, deposed, or murdered

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murdered their sovereigns according to their own wild caprices, which were unrestrained by either law or principle. As prosperity is seldom the school of manly virtue it is not surprising, that a soldier of fortune was often preferred by his fellow soldiers to the son of a monarch, or a hardy Scythian to the native of that effeminate country, where every race of animals is observed to degenerate. (V. Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, tom. ii. p. 222.) Sir William Temple's notion is as contrary to fact as to reason. The sceptre of the Mamluks was above a century in the hands of the same family. Kelaoun was elected Sultan of Egypt in the year 1279, and was succeeded (with only two or three temporary usurpations) by fourteen of his descendants, two in the first generation, eight in the second, two in the third, and two in the fourth. (V. Pocock, Supplem. ad Abulpharag. dynast. p. 6—32. Hist. Générale des Huns, &c. par M. de Guignes, tom. i. p. 266, 267, tom. v. p. 155—246.) It is unfortunate for letters that the knowledge of facts, and the art of making use of them, are very seldom united. I pass over several other mistakes of Sir William Temple's that I may not seem to treat a polite scholar with the critical severity which he justly enough complained of (tom. i. p. 299); but I can scarce refrain from smiling at his Almanzor, the most accomplished of the western Caliphs, who reigned over Arabia, Egypt, Africa, and Spain; but in fact an imaginary hero of an imaginary empire. Sir William Temple was deceived by some Spanish romances, which he took

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took for Arabian history. (V. Ockley's Preface to the Second Volume of his History of the Saracens, p. xxiii.)

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15. M. Maillet (author of the Description de l'Egypte, in 2 vol. 12mo. A la Haye, 1740) seems to have been a curious and accurate observer of whatever fell within his reach during a sixteen years consulship in that country. His account of the physical, moral, commercial and political state of Egypt is clear, copious, and entertaining. But his book has some considerable defects. 1. Though a sensible man the consul was no scholar; he affects to despise the ancients; seldom quotes them, and often mistakes them. This ignorance betrays him into many very gross errors and deprives us of all the lights which he might have extracted from, or reflected upon the writings of those ingenious nations who were so long masters of Egypt. It would be endless to enumerate particulars. Let any one compare his sixth letter with the Pyramidographia of the learned Mr. Greaves. (V. his Works, vol. i. p. 1—164.) 2. He was well versed in Arabian literature, and follows as his oracles those writers, even in respect to those earlier ages, which were to them (as they truly styled it) the time of ignorance, and upon which indeed they can offer us nothing better than traditions, fables, or conjectures. He is even far from accurate in his use of them. His considering the Mamluk princes till the conquest of the Turks as so many descendants of the great Saladin (V. tom. ii. p. 287, and elsewhere)

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where) may serve as a specimen. 3. The consul entrusted his materials to a French Abbé (Mascrier) to be revised and fitted for the press. The editor (who, though an affected, is no contemptible writer) seems to have considered amusement as the only end of writing, and idle tales and *ambitious* ornaments as the only source of amusement. Nay, I am well assured that he has improved, or rather spoiled, the honest consul's memoirs by many additions drawn from his own imagination; and what is unfortunate for us, that it is impossible to clear the native soil from these noxious weeds.

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16. M. de Voltaire accuses the author of the Lettres Provinciales of having imputed to the Jesuits "un dessein formé de corrompre les mœurs des hommes." Compare this accusation with the fifth letter and you will be astonished that any man could advance it. "Sachez donc que leur objet n'est pas de corrompre les mœurs; ce n'est pas leur dessein." (Vol. ii. p. 5.) When I meet Voltaire upon Grecian, Roman, or Asiatic ground, I treat him with the indulgence he has so much occasion for; but we might have expected to have found him better acquainted with one of the finest writers of his own country. (V. Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xvi. p. 322, et Lettres Provinciales, tom. ii. p. 1—36, in 12mo. à Leyde, 1767.)

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17. M. de Voltaire, speaking of the many instances which seemed to justify *Mademoiselle*'s marriage with a private gentleman, alleges the examples

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examples of the daughters of the Roman emperors, and those of the sovereigns of Asia. (Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xvi. p. 124.) Both are very unhappily chosen, as the circumstances are totally different. The only kings in the time of the Roman empire were vassals or enemies to it; all barbarians, and all considered with reason as very inferior to a Roman senator. The eastern maxims of domestic government make those unequal alliances the most suitable and the most eligible for a sultan's daughter. She must marry a slave to avoid the being one herself.

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18. The example of Quadratus may give us an idea of the blind or perhaps artful credulity with which Mr. Addison composed his admired little treatise of the Christian Religion. He describes this apologist as a famous philosopher, a convert, and a martyr. (Addison's Works, vol. iii. p. 290.) Dr. Cave was not half so well acquainted with him. (V. Hist. Litterar. p. 32, 33.) I do not find the least trace of his conversion; his martyrdom is founded only upon the modern martyrology of the Greeks, and I see no other proof of his philosophy than his being an Athenian, and that Mr. Addison might suppose that every Athenian was of course a famous philosopher. There is scarce a prejudice or a legend, that this popular writer has not condescended to adopt as the strongest argument.

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19. Pope's verses to Addison upon his Treatise of Medals

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Medals have certainly great beauties; but I think I discover two faults in them. 1. I scarce know a more complete piece of tautology than the verses 6, 7, and 8. There cannot be any the most minute difference between *hostile fury, barbarian blindness* and *Gothic fire: religious rage, Christian zeal,* and *Papal piety,* express one and the same idea. 2. I hardly know a stronger impropriety than complimenting the author of a didactic work by transgressing one of his principal rules. If Mr. Pope had considered how severely his friend condemned all inscriptions in verse, especially when they run into any length, he would never have given a legend of six heroic verses for Mr. Cragg's medal. (V. Addison's Works, vol. III. p. 155, 156.)

> And round the orb in lasting notes be read
> Statesman, yet friend to truth, &c.

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20. Mr. Addison boldly asserts that there never was a single martyr amongst the primitive heretics; and even draws inferences from this undoubted fact, in favour of the truth of pure, orthodox Christianity. (Vol. III. p. 301.) To connect different degrees of persuasion with different modes of opinion, appeared to me highly unphilosophical; however, I consulted my ingenious friend Dr. Middleton who (I recollected) had placed the Christian martyrs in a very new and curious light. (See Free Inquiry, &c. in his works, Vol. I. p. 162—173.) He immediately informed me from the authority of all history, and particularly that of Eusebius,

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Eusebius, (Hist. Ecclesiast. v. 16) that the heretics had their martyrs, as well as the orthodox: upon verifying the quotation, I even found that the sectaries boasted of the great number of their martyrs, and that their antagonists did not pretend to deny the fact.

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21. Dr. Lardner (Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, Vol. II. p. 18. 28. 63.) and the celebrated Mosheim, (Ecclesiastical History, translated by Maclaine, Vol. I. p. 76) have both imagined, that as all Domitian's laws had been repealed by the senate, Pliny the younger was at loss what rule of conduct to observe in respect to the Christians. (V. Epist. X. 97.) It may be allowed from the authority of Suetonius (in Domit. c. 23) and Lactantius (de Mortib. Persec. c. 2) that the senate in the first fury of a just revenge, attempted to abolish every memorial of the tyrant; but it should have been recollected, from a still better authority, (Plin. Epist. x. 66,) that his prudent successor soon settled the general administration of the empire, by restoring the constitutions and rescripts of Domitian to their former validity: "Epistolis etiam Domitiani standum est." It is evident from thence, that Domitian enacted no laws relative to the Christians; and that till Pliny thought it necessary to consult the emperor upon a case which grew daily more important, the governors of the provinces had no rule of conduct but their own discretion. This observation might lead to some important

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important consequences in regard to the history of the first age of Christianity.

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22. M. de Voltaire has given us, among many other ingenious trifles, a dialogue between Marcus Aurelius and a Recolet friar. The latter accuses the former of having persecuted the Christians to whom he had such obligations. The emperor assures him, that he never persecuted any one. (V. Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. iv. p. 384.) The poet forgot the characters of his speakers. 1. It is very natural that the friar, a friend to miracles and legends, should adopt the story of the Thundering Legion; but he would likewise have adopted the catastrophe of the fable, which exalts to the highest degree the gratitude of Marcus towards his benefactors. (Tertull. Apolog. c. 5. Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies. Vol. II. p. 226, &c.) 2. The emperor was too sincere to deny that many martyrs suffered during his reign, and that he himself added to the severity of the laws already in force against the Christians. (V. Lardner, vol. ii. p. 179—221; and Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 78.)

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23. M. de Voltaire rejects with a magisterial haughtiness the famous Chinese inscription, which relates the origin of Christianity in that country, and asserts with as decisive a confidence that Christianity was absolutely unknown in China in the time of Charlemagne. If he will take the trouble of reading a very curious dissertation in the Es-

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tratto della Letteratura Europea, per l'anno, 1761, p. 1, 2. 4, and which is perfectly agreeable to the principles of M. de Guignes, (V. Mém. de l'Acad. tom. 30.) he may see the two following positions established upon the most convincing proofs. 1. It is certain from the Chinese historians, the Nestorian writers, and the Arabian and European travellers, that a very considerable Christian church subsisted in China from the 7th to the 14th century, which at first flourished very much under the peculiar protection of the emperors. 2. That the inscription carries every mark of authenticity, and is perfectly agreeable to the history of those times and even to the character and doctrines of the Nestorian sect. I am not insensible that before this question was so accurately examined, some learned men have had doubts concerning the inscription; but where they doubted, Voltaire decided. Though his objections are very contemptible, yet I am still more offended at the haughtiness of his unbelief, than at his unbelief itself.

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24. M. de Fontenelle, in that elegant piece of history and philosophy which he has extracted from the learned rubbish of Vandale, discovers many ingenious reasons which account for Porphyry's producing or even inventing oracles that were favourable to the Christians. (Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. ii. p. 239, &c.) Perhaps if he had attended to the well grounded suspicions of his own author, he might have concluded with still more reason, that Porphyry never did produce them;

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them; and that the work in question is spurious. Is not this a little too like the story of the golden tooth?

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25. M. de Fontenelle (tom. ii. p. 383) is mistaken when he thinks the Romans prohibited the Carthaginians by treaty, from offering any more human sacrifices. The original treaties between those powerful republics are still extant in Polybius and Livy. I need only refer to them. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, is indeed reported (though not upon the very best authority) to have imposed that humane condition after the battle of Himera. (V. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. 21; et Wesseling ad loc.) M. de Fontenelle is pleased to accuse the Romans of contradicting their own practice; since they sacrificed a man every year to Jupiter Latiates. But I shall not believe upon the words only of Porphyry, Lactantius, and Prudentius, that human sacrifices were ever a regular part of the Roman worship.

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26. I think M. de Fontenelle has very injudiciously called Homer and Hesiod the first Grecian philosophers. Reason and inspiration are widely different. The first poets were the prophets and theologians of their time; not the philosophers. Several great sects of philosophy, who, from either inclination or policy, chose to connect their system with the established theology, were obliged to consult the most approved interpreters of it; which scheme of conciliation has often betrayed them

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into absurdities. Thus in more modern ages the great Descartes has attempted to explain transubstantiation; and the greater Newton to expound the Revelations. Fontenelle might have spared his satirical exclamation, "Voilà les raisonnemens de cette antiquité si vantée." (Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. ii. p. 251.)

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27. Lord Shaftesbury has observed that after despotism was fully established at Rome, not a statue, picture, or medal, not a tolerable piece of architecture afterwards appeared. Mr. Addison adopted this remark with great complacency, and Mr. Warton received it too easily. (Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 176.) However, if we take the period of the reigns of Vespasian and Commodus, which is certainly a very fair one, we must confine this observation to painting alone. For the state of architecture, I need only appeal to the Coliseum and Trajan's column; the statues of Antinous and Marcus Aurelius will give us an idea of the taste of sculpture. Every connoisseur knows that the highest perfection of the Roman medals is to be sought for in the times of Trajan and Hadrian.

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28. The Epistles of Phalaris have been pronounced spurious after a much fuller hearing than they deserved. (See the Controversy between Boyle and Bentley.) Let me however discover another mark of their being so. Phalaris enlarges very much (see Epistle lxx. &c.) upon the glory, the

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the honours, and the rewards that awaited the murderers of tyrants. This was, I acknowledge, a general law of nations amongst the Grecian republics; but I think it highly improbable that it could have been so ancient as the age of Phalaris, who (if he was not, as Pliny reports, the first tyrant in the world) may be proved to have flourished about 600 years before Christ. (Bentley against Boyle, p. 29—91.) Such a custom supposes many revolutions of freedom and servitude in the several Grecian republics; who were willing to intimidate future tyrants, by arming and encouraging every private citizen to destroy them. Such was the conduct of the Athenians when they recovered their liberty in 512; and the honours which were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton became a model for the rest of Greece.

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29. I am surprised that during that long and sharp controversy concerning the Epistles of Phalaris, neither party should have paid the least attention to the time of the foundation of Agrigentum; since the tyrant could have no existence before his city. This last was built according to the authentic accounts of Thucydides, (lib. vi. sub init.) 153 years later than Syracuse, founded, according to the Chronicle of Eusebius, in the second year of the XIVth Olympiad, (Ant. Ch. 735,) or, according to the more accurate computation, which Sir John Marsham has formed upon the Arundel marbles, A. C. 769. (Canon. Chron. p. 490. 495.) These two epochas will give us 582,

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or 616: either of them is sufficient to refute the earlier date, which Eusebius himself has given us for the age of Phalaris; and to reduce that controversy within narrower bounds.

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30. The author of the Adventurer, No. 127, (Mr. Joseph Warton, concealed under the signature of Z.) concludes his ingenious parallel of the ancients and moderns by the following remark: "That age will never again return; when a Pericles, after walking with Plato in a portico built by Phidias, and painted by Apelles, might repair to hear a pleading of Demosthenes, or a tragedy of Sophocles." It will never return, because it never existed. Pericles (who died in the fourth year of the LXXXIXth Olympiad. Ant. Ch. 429. Dio. Sic. l. xii. 46.) was confessedly the patron of Phidias, and the contemporary of Sophocles; but he could enjoy no very great pleasure in the conversation of Plato, who was born the same year that he himself died. (Diogenes Laertius in Platone, v. Stanley's History of Philosophy, p. 154.) The error is still more extraordinary with regard to Apelles and Demosthenes, since both the painter and the orator survived Alexander the Great, whose death is above a century posterior to that of Pericles, (in 323.) And indeed though Athens was the seat of every liberal art, from the days of Themistocles to those of Demetrius Phalareus, yet no particular era will afford Mr. Warton the complete synchronism he seems to wish for; as tragedy was deprived of her famous triumvirate, before the arts of philosophy

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phy and eloquence had attained the perfection which they soon after received from the hands of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes.

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31. Dr. Mosheim supposes that the Koran, collected by the successors of Mahomet, and which is now extant, was different from the law, which the Prophet gave the Arabians during his life-time, because in the former he appeals to and extols the latter. This fact, or rather conjecture, is founded only on a reason evidently groundless. The 114 chapters which compose that extraordinary book were brought down by the angel Gabriel upon as many different occasions; and it is no ways absurd that in his later revelations, Mahomet should appeal to those he had already received. Mr. Sale, whom Dr. Mosheim in the same place (Ecclesiastical History, v. i. p. 314) celebrates with reason as the ablest expositor of the Koran would have informed him of that particularity. (See Preliminary Discourse to the English Translation of the Koran, p. 63, 64.)

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32. Dr. Mosheim represents the Norman pirates as absolutely devoid of any religion whatsoever. (Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 432.) It is however certain that these pirates, who were the bravest and the noblest adventurers of the Scandinavian nations, worshipped the gods of their fathers, believed in the immortality of the soul, and received with religious faith the system of doctrine laid down in their Edda, which book M. Mallet (see

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Introduction à l'Histoire du Danemarc) has since introduced to the general acquaintance of the public, but which was even then accessible to the curiosity of a German scholar. Dr. Mosheim's proposition is at once groundless and dangerous.

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33. Mr. Christopher Smart, a new and very indifferent translator of Horace, (see Monthly Review, August, 1767,) conjectures, that the first lines of the art of poetry not only condemn an affected and vitiated taste in writing, but are particularly levelled against the Metamorphoses of Ovid, which are so often infected by it. The conjecture is ingenious and supported by some appearances; but it is totally repugnant to Ovid's own chronology of his works. Horace died A. U. C. Cap. 745; Ovid was banished A. U. C. 761. At that very time he was writing the Metamorphoses, and as he was leaving Rome he attempted to commit them to the flames as a rude and imperfect work: paternal love prevailed: Ovid finished the poem at Tomi and sent it to a friend at Rome with a short elegy which may be considered as a preface to it. (Trist. l. 1. Eleg. 7.) It is therefore impossible that Horace could satirise a work which still remained unfinished and in the author's hands sixteen years after Horace's death. Even in the Augustan age there was more than one poet who had occasion for the critic's advice, and the satirist's correction.

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34. M. de Buffon speaks of complete vessels being found in the heart of mountains at a great distance

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distance from the sea. A fact, indeed, of a very extraordinary nature, which shews us a lively glimpse of a former world, and of arts cultivated by men who inhabited some country now overwhelmed by the sea, in ages when the modern Alps were buried under the waters; it ought therefore to be supported by some better authority than Gordon's Geographical Grammar, or an obscure commentator of Ovid's Metamorphoses. It is often to be lamented that natural philosophers are too little acquainted with history or the laws of historical evidence. Their ignorance of them sometimes deprives them of the knowledge of facts highly essential to their systems, and at other times deceives them by fables in the dress of truth. Facts either moral or natural are related by men. The value of the evidence must be determined by the character of the witness, and yet all M. de Buffon's witnesses appear levelled by an undiscriminated equality. (Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 592.)

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35. Angora is famous for the long, beautiful, and silky hair of several sorts of animals, and particularly of its goats. M. de Buffon, as the general historian of all those animals, has often occasion to speak of so curious a distinction; but he as constantly supposes Angora to be a city of Syria, and even deduces consequences after his method, from the happy climate of that country, so congenial to those animals. (V. Histoire Naturelle, aux Articles de la Chèvre, du Chat, et du Lapin, tom. v. et vi.)

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This supposed Syrian city is, however, in reality one of the most considerable towns of Asia Minor, which at present contains 100,000 souls, and is the seat of a Turkish pasha, and which was formerly, under the name of Ancyra, the capital of the province of Galatia. This breed of goats is even confined to about thirty miles round Ancyra, and easily degenerates when carried to any distance. (V. Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. p. ii. p. 86—90.) M. de Buffon was not betrayed into this error by any preconceived system. On the contrary, the latitude of Spain agrees still more strictly with Asia Minor than with Syria.

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36. M. de Voltaire (V. Le Corneille de Voltaire, tom. ix. p. 153.) praises Racine and Corneille for having, both of them, very judiciously avoided shewing the contempt which the Romans and indeed all mankind entertained for the Jewish nation. Berenice was the heroine of their tragedy, and the reader might possibly have thought too much like a Roman. Voltaire might have added, that those poets were equally in the right in representing her as a young princess, although at the time of her separation from Titus she was above fifty. History *must* receive and *can* only explain the most improbable facts when they are properly averred. Poetry ought always to prefer agreeable probabilities to harsh and unlikely truths. The proof of Berenice's age is clear and easy. Her father Agrippa died A. C. 44. She was then sixteen and already married to her uncle Herod, King of Chalcis.

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cis. Titus succeeded his father Vespasian in the year 79, 35 years after the death of Agrippa. (V. Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 839, de l'édit. in 12mo. et toutes les autorités qu'il cite.)

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37. That ingenious trifler, Mr. Horace Walpole, has given us (Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 67—81.) a very curious article of the brave and learned Earl Rivers. He is, however, inaccurate in the account of a tournament in Smithfield between the Earl and the great Bastard of Burgundy. 1. The tournament which was held just before the death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, that is to say in the beginning of the summer 1467 (V. Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, p. 489, &c. in 4to. à Gand, 1566, et Chronique de Bourgogne dans le second volume de Philippe de Comines, p. 189.) could have no relation with the nuptials of Duke Charles and the Princess of England, which were celebrated in July, 1468. From this mistaken date Mr. Walpole extracts a very puerile reflexion. The hero and the virago might think the combat of their near relation a proper compliment to their union; but the brother of Edward the Fourth's wife can scarcely be deemed a near relation of Edward's sister. 2. Mr. Walpole draws his account of the combat from an Englishman who thought that when the champions were parted the superiority was clearly on Earl Rivers's side. Olivier de la Marche was of a different opinion; but he viewed the whole affair with the partial eyes of a subject of Burgundy. Mr. Walpole shews at least an equal

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equal partiality to the English knight, when he extols Earl Rivers's generosity, for disdaining the first day to make use of the advantage he had gained by killing the Bastard's horse. The advantage itself was a contravention of the laws of chivalry; the Earl was forced to excuse himself both to the king, who expressed great anger, and to his adversary who readily accepted his excuses and his assurances that the blow was purely accidental. (V. Oliv. de la Marche, p. 91. Mémoires sur la Chevalerie par M. de St. Palaye, &c.) I am sorry Mr. Walpole never met with Olivier de la Marche. He might have added to his article of Earl Rivers a multitude of those little anecdotes he is so fond of.

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38. M. de Buffon often sacrifices truth to eloquence, and consistency to variety. In the fourth volume of his Natural History, (V. Discours sur la Nature des Animaux, p. 13—34.) the brain is the general sensorium of the animal; and the center of the whole nervous system, with which it communicates by an universal action and reaction; in a word the seat of sentiment and the spring of action in every creature destitute of an intellectual soul. Such is the basis of M. de Buffon's profound though obscure metaphysics. But in the seventh volume (Discours sur les Animaux Carnassiers, p. 13. 16, &c.) this basis is entirely overturned. The brain is degraded into dead matter, insensible, and scarcely organized, which serves only to transmit to the nerves the nourishment it had received from the

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the arteries. The diaphragma succeeds to all the former powers of the brain, at least to many of them; for M. de Buffon disdains to acquaint us either with the defects he discovered in his old system, or with the parts of it he still chuses to retain, and the manner he connects them with his new principles. Instead of a candid confession that he had been seduced by a delusive though brilliant hypothesis, he endeavours to make the world forget it, by observing a profound silence on that head, in the copious and curious index he has drawn up himself for his great work.

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39. M. de Buffon seems to be a very poor classical scholar. He always cites Aristotle in Latin, and most of his quotations from the ancients appear borrowed from Gesner and Aldrovandus. It is a great pity, as this ignorance has deprived him of many curious materials. His admirable history of the elephant (Histoire Naturelle, tom. xii. p. 1—93.) might have been still more curious and equally authentic; since I think the testimony of a Pliny, &c. who appeal to the whole Roman people as to what they saw in the amphitheatre, deserves as much credit as the stories a traveller brings back from Congo or Siam. M. de Buffon might perhaps have determined with less confidence that the climate of Europe is too cold for elepants. (V. p. 30---47.) I am sensible that there are no examples of that animal's multiplying or even subsisting in a state of nature beyond the limits of Asia and Africa. But there are many of the elephant's being

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being employed in war in Spain, Sicily, and the southern parts of Italy, of their going through all the fatigues of a campaign, &c. Those of Hannibal perished indeed in the severe winter marches that general made over the Alps and Apennines. A curious passage of Juvenal (Sat. xii. 102.) informs us that droves of elephants belonging to the emperor were kept in the fields round Ardea. They were probably maintained for the public shews; and it is to other droves of the same nature that we are to refer the elephant's bones found in Tuscany and other parts of Italy. (V. Dissertazioni del Cavalier Guazzeri, p. 68, &c.)

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40. Father Pagi, to whom good letters have many obligations, shews (in his Dissertatio Hypatica, p. 368.) that he read history like a monk. A writer or two of his own complexion had made use of the words *consulatus*, *fasces*, *&c.* in speaking of the Saracen kings of Corduba, the (khalifs of Spain of the house of Ommiyah.) Now as the kings of France, Italy, &c. of those ages, really took the title of consul, Father Pagi very sagaciously concludes that the Arab khalifs imitated their example, without ever reflecting on the enormous difference there was between them. The northern chiefs had adopted the religion and manners of the conquered nations, and still revered the power they had overturned. The Musulmans detested that religion, were strangers to those manners, and despised that power. The successors of the Prophet would have disdained a title which levelled

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levelled them with the servants of the Christian dog. In them the imitation of the Roman style would have been absurd; in the authors of those times it was easy and natural. Sallust was a more correct writer than Eulogius or the Abbot Samson of Cordova; yet Sallust (Bell. Jugurth. c. 12.) speaks of the *Lictor proxumus* of a Numidian prince, who had guards and officess, but who certainly had no lictors. This translation of ideas is common in all languages.

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41. Olearius, as quoted by M. de Buffon, (Histoire Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 241.) rejects with scorn the antipathy which the ancients have supposed between the horse and the camel, and of which they have related such celebrated instances. Every caravan, and every stable in Persia is, according to Olearius, a proof of the contrary. But this reasoning is very fallacious. The instances mentioned by the ancients suppose those animals unacquainted with each other, meeting for the first time, and left entirely to their natural impressions. But it is not the least proof of the empire of man over the animals, that by habit and education he can subdue those impressions, and can establish a degree of harmony and even of familiarity between the most discordant natures. The dog and the cat are domestic evidences of this assertion.

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42. Pliny, speaking of an animal, (Machlis,) supposed to be the rein-deer, says the creature was only to be found in Scandinavia. Cæsar describes the

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the same animal as a native of the Hercynian forest in Germany. M. de Buffon is struck with this contradiction, (Histoire Naturelle, tom. xii. p. 82.) which is indeed only apparent. Our author, who is a better naturalist than an antiquarian, did not know that the vast island or peninsula of Scandinavia was considered by most of the ancients as a part of Germany; (V. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. iii. p. 159, &c.) that the ocean was the northern boundary of Germany; (Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 1, &c.) that the Hercynian forest lost itself in the most remote parts of that unknown country. (Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. vi. c. 25.)

43. M. de Buffon asserts (Hist. Natur. tom. xi. p. 229.) that the camel has been so completely subdued by man, that there remains no individuals of the species in a state of nature and freedom. This may be true enough in our times, but it was not so in those of Diodorus Siculus. That curious traveller says there were wild camels in Arabia. (Bibliot. l. iii. c. 44. Edit. Wesseling.), The fact seems probable in itself, and it confirms M. de Buffon's opinion, that the camel was originally a native of Arabia, for whose sandy deserts he and he alone seems formed.

44. M. Marmontel has made a singular mistake in his elegant translation of Lucan. That poet had said of the Gallic Druids, (Lucan. Pharsal. l. i. v. 452.)

Solis nosse Deos, et cœli numina vobis
Aut solis nescire datum.——

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In the French version of the Pharsalia, this exclamation is turned into a panegyric of the doctrine of the Gallican church: "Vous seuls avez le privilège de choisir entre tous les dieux, ceux qu'on doit adorer, ceux qu'on doit méconnoître." But the poet was admiring not the truth but the singularity of the Druidical system of theology. Observing how much it disagreed with that of other nations, he cries out, "The knowledge of the Gods has been granted or has been refused to you alone." (V. le Lucan de Marmontel, tom. i. p. 32.)

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45. The King of Prussia appears throughout his writings an enemy to the English. His description of the battle of Blenheim is a glaring instance of his partiality. (V. l'Art de la Guerre, chant vi.)

Ainsi le grand Eugène, à ce fameux village
Où Tallard et Marsin s'étoient très mal postés,
D'un effort général donna de tous côtés, &c.

The history contained in these lines is as erroneous as the poetry of them is indifferent. The great Eugene, to whom the sole glory of the day is ascribed, commanded the right wing of the allied army, and was so well opposed by Marsin and the Elector of Bavaria, that his repeated attacks made no impression on them. It was his colleague, the Duke of Marlborough, who improved the many blunders of Tallard, passed the rivulet, broke the centre of the French army, took the flower of their troops in the village of Blenheim, and, in a word, obtained a complete victory.

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(V. Mémoires de Fenquières, tom. iii. p. 357—387. Kane's Campaigns, p. 57—61. Histoire Générale, par Voltaire, tom. v. p. 277.)

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46. The translator of M. de Haller's poems has inserted a note which is to me incomprehensible. The poet (p. 112.) had exclaimed with indignation, "Où coule aujourd'hui le sang des Muhleren et des Bubenberg? *Bubenberg*, (adds the translator,) "famille d'une ancienne noblesse à Berne..... *Muhleren*, un officier de cette famille, qui étoit aussi d'une ancienne noblesse, fit paroître son courage dans la défense de Morat contre Charles le Hardi en 1476." 1. If the family was noble, as it certainly was, it seems superfluous to add that each individual of it was so likewise. 2. I am perfectly well acquainted with the Bubenberg who defended Morat so gallantly against Charles the Hardy. His name was Adrian; and neither Schilling, a contemporary historian, nor that indefatigable collector, M. Leu, (in his Helvetic Dictionary,) makes the least mention of that extraordinary name of Muhleren, which I never heard of, but which M. de Haller himself seems clearly to separate from that of Bubenberg. This passage is more singular, as I have some reason to believe that the translator is M. de Tscharner, of one of the best families of Berne; and who has written with applause a history of his own country in the German language. (V. Choix des Poësies Allemandes, par M. Huber. tom. iii. p. 242.)

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ALPHABETICAL LIST.

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AUGERII GISLENII BUSBEQUII OMNIA QUÆ EXTANT. *Lugd. Batavorum, ex Officinâ Elzeveriand in* 1633, *in* 12*mo.*

THE Travels of Busbequius consist of four epistles, and contain the narrative of his two embassies from Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and afterwards emperor, to the Ottoman Porte. (November 1554—November 1562.) In the first, he describes his journey from Vienna to Amasia; the second includes the events and observations of a seven years' residence, or rather imprisonment, at C. P. It was his duty and his amusement to study the characters of Soliman II. and his ministers, the policy of the govermenment, the discipline of the camp, and the virtues and vices of the most formidable enemies of Christendom. The tragic adventures of Mustapha and Bajazet are told with the spirit and dignity of an historian. His ears, or those of his interpreters, were always open to the reports of foreign countries, of Crim Tartary, Mingrelia, and Carthay. We are indebted to his curiosity for the first copy of the marbles of Ancyra, and the most ancient MS. of Dioscorides; and he viewed, with the eyes of a naturalist, the numerous collection of animals that enlivened his solitude. Busbequius is my old and familiar acquaintance; a frequent companion in my post-chaise. His latinity is eloquent, his manner is lively, his remarks are judicious.

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THE following Notes were written by Mr. Gibbon the summer before his death, at Sheffield-Place, in an interleaved fourth edition of Harwood's View of the various editions of the Greek and Roman Classics. It is to be regretted that he did not go through the whole work as he intended; but these perhaps may be interesting to collectors of books.

HOMER, B. C. 850. The positive age of Homer is of less moment than the relative distance between the author and his work. After three or four centuries he might expatiate in the fields of fiction: but if Homer lived within fourscore years of the Trojan war (Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 166, &c.) he might converse with the last companions of Ulysses and Æneas, and the probable human part of his narrative may be almost read as the history of his own times.

HOMERI OPERA inter Poetas Græcos Heroici Carminis ab Henr. Stephano.

HOMERI ILIAS, Gr. cum veteribus Scholiast. a Johan. Baptist. Gaspar d'Anse de Villoison. Venet. 1788, in folio.—The vain man had promised a standard Homer, an ancient variorum from the editions of Alexandria, Athens, Marseilles, &c. but—parturiunt montes!

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VITA HOMERI, inter Opuscula a Gale, p. 118. A loose Essay on his Universal Knowledge.

VITA HOMERI, ad calcem Herodoti. Some genuine traditions are perhaps mingled with the low tales of a grammarian.

APOTHEOSIS HOMERI, a Gisberto Cupero, Amstel. 1683, in 4to. A curious and learned interpretation of an ancient monument.

ANTIQUITATES HOMERICÆ, ab Everhard. Feilhio Argentorat. 1743, in 12mo. A poor sketch of a noble subject.

GNOMOLOGIA HOMERI, a Jacob. Duport. Cantab. 1660, in 4to.

The moral sentences of Homer, with a copious and entertaining collection of imitations, allusions, applications, parodies, &c. The Abbé de Longuerve, a tasteless pedant, valued Feilhius and Duport more than Homer himself.

GEOGRAPHIA HOMERI, ab H. Schlichthorst. Gotting. 1787, in 12mo.

GEOGRAPHIA HOMERI, ab Aug. Gul. Schlegel. Hanover, 1788, in 12mo.—The tasks of two German students.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HOMER. London, 1735, in 8vo, by Blackwall of Aberdeen, or rather by Bishop Berkley. A fine though sometimes fanciful effort of genius and learning.

AN ESSAY ON THE ORIGINAL GENIUS AND WRITINGS OF HOMER, by Robert Wood, Esq. London, 1775, in 4to. Pompous and superficial, the

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the scholar, the traveller, and politician! Yet not without taste and merit.

THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY OF HOMER, BY ALEXANDER POPE. London, 1771, 9 volumes in crown 8vo. The most splendid poetical version that any language has produced.

AN ESSAY ON POPE'S ODYSSEY, BY SPENCE. London, 1747, in 12mo. Pleased Pope, and can please none else; dry and narrow!

ILIAS ET ODYSSEA, BY BARNES, 2 vols. 4to. *2l. 2s.* Cantab. 1711.

When BARNES's HOMER appeared at Cambridge, Dr. Bentley expressed his contempt for the edition and the editor, who understood (he said) as much Greek as a Greek cobbler. Barnes is indeed a vulgar critic, and surely much inferior to Lucian's Micyllus.

ILIAS ET ODYSSEA, Gr. 2 vols. fol. Glasg. 1758.

As the eye is the organ of fancy, I read Homer with more pleasure in the Glasgow folio. Through that fine medium the poet's sense appears more beautiful and transparent. Bishop Louth has said that he could discover only one error in that accurate edition, the omission of an *iota* subscribed to a dative. Yet how could a man of taste read Homer with such literal attention?

HOMERI OPERA, A BERGLERO, 2 VOLS. 12MO. *5s.* AMST. 1707.

DR. CLARKE'S EDITION. 2 VOLS. 4TO. ILIAS, LONDON, 1729; ODYSSEY, 1740.

Though not a Bentley, Dr. Clarke was a scholar

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and a critic. Even his metaphysical genius was usefully employed on the nice distinctions of grammar and language. His edition of Homer deserves much esteem.

ERNESTI'S EDITION OF HOMER. 5 VOLS. 8VO. LIPS. 1759.

Ernesti's Homer is a republication of Clarke's edition, with some improvements of his own. But the more original labours of Heyne of Gottingen have raised, and will doubtless answer the public expectation.

A HYMN TO CERES, *attributed to* HOMER, *has very lately been discovered by a German, in a Library at Moscow, and published by Rhunkenius in Holland. Lugd. Bat.* 1780, *in* 8vo.

I am by no means ungrateful for the discovery of this mythological hymn; yet I should be far more delighted with the resurrection of the *Margites* of Homer, the picture of private life, and the model of ancient comedy. What an universal genius! We may think indeed of Shakespeare and Voltaire.

HESIOD, B. C. 870. If Hesiod, according to Velleius Paterculus, lived about the first Olympiad, 120 years after Homer, his rustic simplicity will only mark the different state of Bœotian and Ionic civilisation.

HESIODI OPERA ET DIES inter Poetas Gnomicos, BRUNCK. His only genuine work (without the Invocation to the Muses) according to his countrymen near Mount Helicon. (Pausanias, l. ix. p. 771,

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p. 771, Edit. Kuhn.) In the Theogony I can discern a more recent age; yet it passed for Hesiod's in the time of Herodotus.

The GNOMICA, or Moral Poems of Theognis, Phocylides and Solon in the *Poetæ Heroici* of *Henry Stephens*, and the *Analecta and Poetæ Gnomici of Brunck*.

PINDAR, *inter Poetas Græcos Lectii.*

THE ODES OF PINDAR, translated into English Verse, with a Dissertation on the Olympic Games, &c. by Gilbert West. London, 1750. 2 vols. in 12mo. West has learning, good sense, and a tolerable style of versification; but Gray and Dryden alone should have translated the Odes of Pindar, and they did much better than translate.

In the Greek Poets of Henry Stephens and Lectius, and in the Analecta and Poetæ Gnomici of Brunck, we may read the fragments yet extant of CALLINUS, ARCHILOCHUS, ALCMAN, MELANIPPIDES, IBYCUS, TELESTES, MIMNERMUS, ALCÆUS, SAPPHO, ERINNA, STESICHORUS, SIMONIDES, PANYASIS, BACCHYLIDES. The shipwreck of lyric poetry is the heaviest loss the Grecian literature has sustained. How delightful would it be to glow with the free-born ardour of Alcæus, and to melt with the amorous passions of Sappho! Yet Pindar still survives, the last, but, according to the ancients, the greatest of the lyric choir. The dearest objects of my regret are the better *Iambics* of Archi-

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Archilochus, (whose inventive genius has been compared with that of Homer himself,) and the pathetic elegies of Simonides, of which such an exquisite specimen has escaped the injuries of time.

The fragments of the martial Tyrtæus, (and they are indeed martial,) which are contained in the *Analecta et Poetæ Gnomici of Brunck*, have been published in separate editions.

SPARTAN LESSONS, or the praise of valour, by TYRTÆUS, in Greek. Glasgow, 1759, in 8vo.

TYRTÆUS, Greek and Latin; a Christian. Adolpho Klotzio. Altenburg, 1767, in 8vo.

LE THÉATRE DES GRECS, PAR LE PÈRE BRUMOY; Amsterdam, 1732. 6 vols. in 12mo. and the last improved edition, Paris, 1785—89. 12 vols. in 8vo. Like most of the Jesuits, Brumoy was a literary bigot, and a superficial scholar. Instead of studying the original, he uses and abuses the Latin version (μυριοι, sexcenti, six cent.) Yet on the faith of this worthy interpreter, many a French critic has talked about the Greek theatre.

L'ŒDIPE DE SOPHOCLE, et les OISEAUX D'ARISTOPHANE, traduites par Boivin le Cadet: one of the best scholars that France ever produced. Paris, 1729.

HISTOIRE D'HÉRODOTE TRADUITE DU GREC, PAR M. LARCHER, avec des Notes, &c. Paris, 1786. 7 vols in 8vo.

The

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The version is clear and correct; the notes are learned and judicious; and a scholar will only regret that Larcher has not published an improved edition of the Greek text. Yet this is the man whom Voltaire made the object of his ridicule.

RECHERCHES ET DISSERTATIONS SUR HÉRODOTE, *par le Président Bouhier.* Dijon, 1746, in 4to.

THE SPEECHES OF ISÆUS, translated, with notes, by *William Jones.* London, 1778, in 4to.

XENOPHONTIS MEMORABILIA SOCRATIS, ab Ernesti, Gr. Lipsiæ, 1755, in 12mo.

XENOPHON'S EXPEDITION OF CYRUS, by *Edward Spelman.* London, 1747. 2 vols. 8vo.

One of the most accurate and elegant prose translations that any language has produced. It is enriched with many notes, and Forster's Geographical dissertation.

L'EXPÉDITION DE CYRUS, traduite par LARCHER. Paris, 1778, 2 vols. in 12mo.

Histoire des Animaux, par ARISTOTE, en Grec et en François, par Camus. Paris, 1783. 2 vols. in 4to. Camus is a scholar and a naturalist. The first volume contains a pure text; the second is an elaborate parallel between Aristotle's knowledge and the discoveries of the moderns.

Aristoteles de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, Gr. et Lat. Gotting. 1786, in 4to. This collection of strange stories, which may be drawn from Aristotle's

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totle's works, is illustrated by the copious and curious notes of *John Beckman*, the editor.

APOLLODORI ATHENIENSIS Bibliotheca, Greek et Lat. cum notis Chr. G. Heyne. Gotting. 1782, 1783. 4 vols. in 12mo. The text is comprised in the first volume: the three last are a mine of mythological erudition.

POLYBII MEGALOPOLITANI Historiarum quicquid superest, Gr. et Lat. recensuit, digessit, illustravit Johannes Schleighæuser. Lipsiæ, 1789—1793. 6 vols. (yet unfinished) in 8vo. This accomplished edition, both for the text and notes, will soon extinguish the preceding ones. The fragments are disposed in such lucid order, that we seem to have recovered the forty books of the history of Polybius.

The General History of POLYBIUS, translated from the Greek, by *Hampton*. London, 1772, 1773. 4 vols. in 8vo. The English translator has preserved the admirable sense, and improved the coarse style of his Arcadian original. A grammarian, like Dionysius, might despise Polybius for not understanding the structure of words; and Lord Monboddo might wish for a version into Attic Greek.

L'Histoire de POLYBE traduite du Grec par le Père *Vincent Thuillier*, avec un Commentaire Militaire par le Chevalier *de Folard*, Amsterdam, 1753—1759, 7 vols. in 4to. The mixed offspring of a monk ignorant of tactics, and a soldier ignorant

rant of Greek. Language and history are tortured to support the *column;* but in his modern anecdotes and observations, Folard is lively, interesting, and authentic.

Diodorus Siculus.—Histoire Universelle de Diodore de Sicile, traduite par l'Abbé Terasson, Paris, 1756. 7 vols. in 12mo. The execution is tolerable, but the design was singular for a mathematician, who despised history and the ancients.

Apollonii Sophistæ Lexicon, Iliad et Odyss. ab Hieronym. Tollio, Lugd. Bat. 1788, 2 vols. 8vo.

Novum Lexicon Græcum in Pindarum et Homerum a Christ. Tobia Damm. Berolini, 1774. 4to. If we compare these two Lexicons, the Greek in his long language must veil his bonnet to the German, a most useful interpreter of Homer.

AP-

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APPENDIX

TO THE TREATISE ON THE

POSITION OF THE MERIDIONAL LINE,

AND

INQUIRY INTO THE SUPPOSED CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS.

Dr. VINCENT, *Dean of Westminster, to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

MY LORD, Deanry, Westminster, Nov. 6th, 1814.

HAD proof been wanting of Mr. Gibbon's indefatigable spirit of research, his Dissertation, which you have put into my hands, would have shewn that he was as highly qualified for the great work which he accomplished, by patient industry, as by his learning, penetration, and discernment,

I have sometimes, by way of amusement, traced Mr. Gibbon through his authorities in several detached portions of his History, and on every subject but one I have found the extent of his acquisitions, the adjustment of his evidences, the accuracy of his deductions, and the comprehensive view of his subject, such as to place him in the very first rank of historians.

It is evident that in the earlier part of his life, before

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before his pursuits were concentred in one great object of his ambition, he had exercised his talents in various speculations of curious inquiry, as his inclination, or perhaps accident directed. Of these your lordship has given an ample specimen already in the two volumes of his miscellaneous research; but his dissertation on Geography, Navigation and Commerce, which you now propose to communicate to the public, as it is in itself of a superior cast, so it is to me, individually, of greater interest, as it embraces a subject upon which the labour of my life has been employed, and fortunately ratifies my decision of the question by deducing the same conclusions from the same premises.

Our mutual correspondence on this subject is so similar, that, unless plagiarism were demonstrably impracticable, it might be imputed to either party with every appearance of probability to support the charge. The proof, however, to the contrary, is unequivocal, for Mr. Gibbon died in January, 1794, and my first edition of the Periplûs of the Erythrêan Sea was not published till 1800. Neither was it possible for me to have seen Mr. Gibbon's memoir, as it was in your lordship's custody till October, 1814. If, then, we have both used the same materials, and applied them to the same purpose, without communication, it is but reasonable to allow that the sole object of both must have been the investigation of truth.

That I am proud of this coincidence of opinion, may naturally be supposed, for it will appear from the

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the Dissertation itself that Mr. Gibbon had examined this subject with the utmost attention, and formed his judgment upon mature deliberation. My own arguments, and the conclusions deduced from them, are stated at large in the Periplûs, at p. 186, Part the first; and at p. 661, Part the second, there is an express dissertation on the Venetian planisphere of Fra Mauro, which exhibits a southern termination of Africa, thirty-nine years previous to the voyage of Gama. My work has probably not come under your lordship's contemplation, but I recommend you to consult the second edition as far more correct than the former one. It was published in 1807, comprising the Voyage of Nearchus and the Periplûs, under the general title of the Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, and completed in 1809, with a translation of the two original voyages, and the Greek text.

I am sensible that I had given offence to many eminent persons in the republic of letters, by questioning the authority of Herodotus in regard to the Phenician voyage round Africa in the reign of Neko; and it must be confessed, that it stands on very different grounds from similar voyages imputed to Hanno, Eudoxus, and Antipater; but by comparing it with the voyage of Nearchus it was easy to shew what ancient navigators could, or could not do; and by contemplating the reiterated attempts of the Portuguese for almost a century before they succeeded, it was natural to conclude that the Phenician voyage performed in three years,

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years, must be a fiction of the Egyptian priests, without impeaching the veracity of Herodotus.

The Phenicians directed their course by the stars without instruments, and the navigators in the Indian ocean, as late as the time of Ptolemy, sailed by the Canóbus, as the southern polar star. But that star is in latitude 37° from the pole, by which we may judge of the danger of adopting it for the direction of a course in the southern hemisphere. The currents, it is true, round the Cape, favour an attempt from the east, but again the currents for twenty degrees in the neighbourhood of Cape Verd, are as directly adverse. Could they double such a Cape by *rowing* near the coast? or durst they stand out to sea to double it as modern navigators do? These are my grand objections to the Phenician voyage, and with all the respect I bear to the Father of History, the authority of his Egyptian priests is directly contradicted by Polybius, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Scylax; and equally rejected by Purchas, D'Anville, Gossellin, and Robertson, among the moderns; to this list let me add the name of Horsley, who personally expressed to me his conviction, and the testimony of Gibbon, whose evidence I value as highly as any that has been given by the ancients or the moderns. Very happy should I have been, if I could have included the illustrious names of Larcher and Rennell in the number; but I respect them both too much, to give offence by entering into a consideration of their arguments.

I conclude, my lord, that there are several other

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Tracts to be inserted in the volume which ouy are now publishing, that will be equally acceptable to the learned world; but this immediate disquisition is more interesting to me, as it corroborates all the arguments which I have advanced, and all the opinions I had formed; and give me leave to add, that if my judgment is of weight, a more masterly treatise than this never came from the pen of Gibbon.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
Your lordship's most obedient
and faithful servant,
W. VINCENT.

NOTES

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NOTES

ON MR. GIBBON'S TREATISE

ON

THE POSITION OF THE MERIDIONAL LINE, AND INQUIRY INTO THE SUPPOSED CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS,

By THE REV. DR. VINCENT,

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

P. 170. Note. "The ignorance of Ptolemy."

The inaccuracy of Ptolemy in placing all islands, except those of the Mediterranean, is universally conspicuous. V.

P. 172. "A multitude of dogs and goats."

Ptolemy and Pliny give the name of Canaria to one of these islands, from the multitude of dogs, and Ptolemy places them on the coast of Mauritania.

The number and position of the isles when again visited by navigators, whether Spanish, French, or Genoese, made them readily cognizable as the Canaries of the ancients.

As the pike of Teneriffe is visible from the continent, these islands, when re-discovered, were found to be inhabited. Madeira, which is not visible, was found without inhabitants. V.

P. 178. "Arrian, or the nameless author who under the "reign of Adrian has composed a description of the "Red Sea."

Ptolemy wrote in the reign of Adrian, but it is clear from internal evidence that the Periplûs is prior to Ptolemy, and

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to Marinus, cited by Ptolemy. The latter part of the reign of Claudius, or beginning of Nero's, suits best with the date of the Periplûs. V.

P. 181. "The ships of war which he (Nechus, or Neko) "built commanded the Mediterranean and the Red "Sea."

Psammitichus, the predecessor of Neko, was the first sovereign of Egypt who permitted the Greeks to trade in his ports, and why Neko should on a sudden wish to become a maritime power, it is not very evident; for, according to Jablonski, the Egyptians held the sea and seafaring men in abomination, neither do Egyptian fleets nor ships appear in history till Egypt became subject to Persia. It is true that Herodotus assigns a fleet on the Mediterranean to Neko, but I do not recollect any expedition of the Egyptians in the Mediterranean, even in a later period, except the conquest of Cyprus by Amasis. And if Neko employed Phenicians on the Red Sea, it is a proof that the Egyptians were not navigators in his reign. V.

P. 182. "The Phenicians reported that, in sailing "round Africa, they had seen the sun on their right "hand."

If the great triangle of Africa were cut off, as it appears in the map of Bertius, and this continent bounded by a vast line running north and south, this phenomenon would be verified for a great part of the voyage; but Africa ending in a point, as it does strictly speaking, it would be visible only at the apex of the triangle. It seems probable that in the contemplation of Herodotus, Africa was similar in form to the Africa of Bertius, and this is correspondent to the opinion of Juba, Manilius, Pomponius Mela, Macrobius, and Virgil.

See the map of Bertius in Vincent's Ancient Commerce, vol. ii. p. 562. Second Edition. V.

P.

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P. 183. "But a southern communication between the "Indian and Atlantic ocean might be affirmed or de- "nied."

The two circumstances mentioned by Herodotus afford ground for argument; but the voyages of Scylax, Eudoxus, Antipater, &c. contain no particulars; they announce the fact, but never consider *how* it was accomplished. In the voyage of Nearchus and the Periplûs we have the full detail; and by considering the difficulties which occurred, it is easy to determine what ancient navigators could or could not do. V.

Ib. "My surprise and suspicion are excited by the suc- "cessful agriculture of the strangers in unknown cli- "mates and new soils; by the seeds of the temperate "zone which yield their increase between the tro- "pics."

Gossellin contends that the seasons of the southern hemisphere do not answer to the harvests of the northern, or the seed time; and Larcher, forced to concede this, supposes that on this point Herodotus gives only his own misconceived opinion, without reference to the Egyptian records. V.

P. 184. "In twelve days from the Straits of Gibraltar "he (Hanno) reached the small island of Cerné or "Arguin."

The voyage of Hanno, brief as it is, contains circumstances and particulars sufficient to establish its veracity; and the assumption of Arguin for Cerné is the more probable from its offering convenience for a Portuguese settlement, as it had done to a Carthaginian colony. It answers likewise to the local circumstances given by Hanno. Campomanes has wildly carried Cerné to St. Thomas's, under the equator, while Arguin lies in latitude 21° north.

See Major Rennell's Dissertation, Geography of Herodotus, p. 719. V.

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P. 186. "The geographer Scylax denies the possibi-
"lity of navigating beyond Cerné in a shallow and
"muddy ocean."

Scylax agrees with Aristotle in supposing that the Atlantic communicates with the Indian Ocean, but says the navigation to the south was impracticable on account of the weedy sea, through which a ship could not make her way. This is an illustrious truth, for the weed called salgasso does occur about Cape Blanco for many degrees, though moveable in bulk; and this proves that the ancients did navigate the Atlantic as low or lower than 20° north latitude. V.

P. 186. "The single and hasty assertion of the elder
"Pliny."

It is strange that Mickle should have been misled by the authority of Pliny. But he asserts, in contradiction to his own genius of the Cape, "It is *certain* that Hanno doubled the Cape of Good Hope." *Lusiad, p.* 2. V.

P. 191. "The English translator of Camoens justifies
"this impropriety by an old Syriac version of Homer."

Asserted by Abulpharage. V.

P. 192. "According to the most liberal computation,
"Vasco de Gama discovered no more than twenty
"degrees of southern latitude from the Cape of
"Good Hope to Mozambique."

Gama went as high as Melinda. V.

Ib. "The African trade of the Portuguese, as it is described
"by Mosto."

The voyage of Cadamosto in Ramusio gives the particulars of Prince Henry's contracts with the navigators he employed, and is equally honourable to his integrity and his wisdom. He drew much of his information from Venice, and

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and was rejoiced to tempt a Venetian mariner into his service

Cadamosto is a Venetian abbreviation of *Casa* di Mosto: this man was of the house, or family, of Mosto. V.

P. 194. " But the exchange, with an invisible people, " of salt for gold is described by Cadamosto on the " faith of the itinerant Arabs."

Gold was first met with by Henry's navigators at Rio d'Ouro, under the tropic of Cancer; and the sight of a few ounces brought home by them was the immediate cause of establishing an African Company at Lagos. The spirit of adventure was roused, and the prosecution of discovery ensued, which never ceased till the circumnavigation of Africa and the voyage to India were accomplished. V.

P. 195. " But the views of a soldier are not those of his " general."

That the views of Prince Henry were directed to India, is evident from his exertions to procure maps and information from Venice, at that time the great mart of oriental commerce. V.

P. 197. " A planisphere, or map of the world, was de- " lineated in the Convent of Murano at Venice."

A fac simile copy of this map is now placed in the British Museum, procured from Venice at the suggestion of W. V. and obtained by a subscription of £ 200 and upwards. The subscribers were the

India Company,
Earl of Buckinghamshire,
Earl Spencer,
Earl Macartney,
The Bishop of Durham,
Mr. Strahan,
W. Vincent.

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It is a splendid performance, and contains a termination of Africa in 1459, thirty-nine years previous to the voyage of Gama. V.

P. 199. " Castaneda (1553), a laborious historian, who " might converse with Gama himself."

It may be justly supposed that Castaneda wrote from the Journal of Gama, for the narrative often adopts the first person. It has nothing of the marvellous of Osorio. V.

END OF VOL. V.

GENERAL

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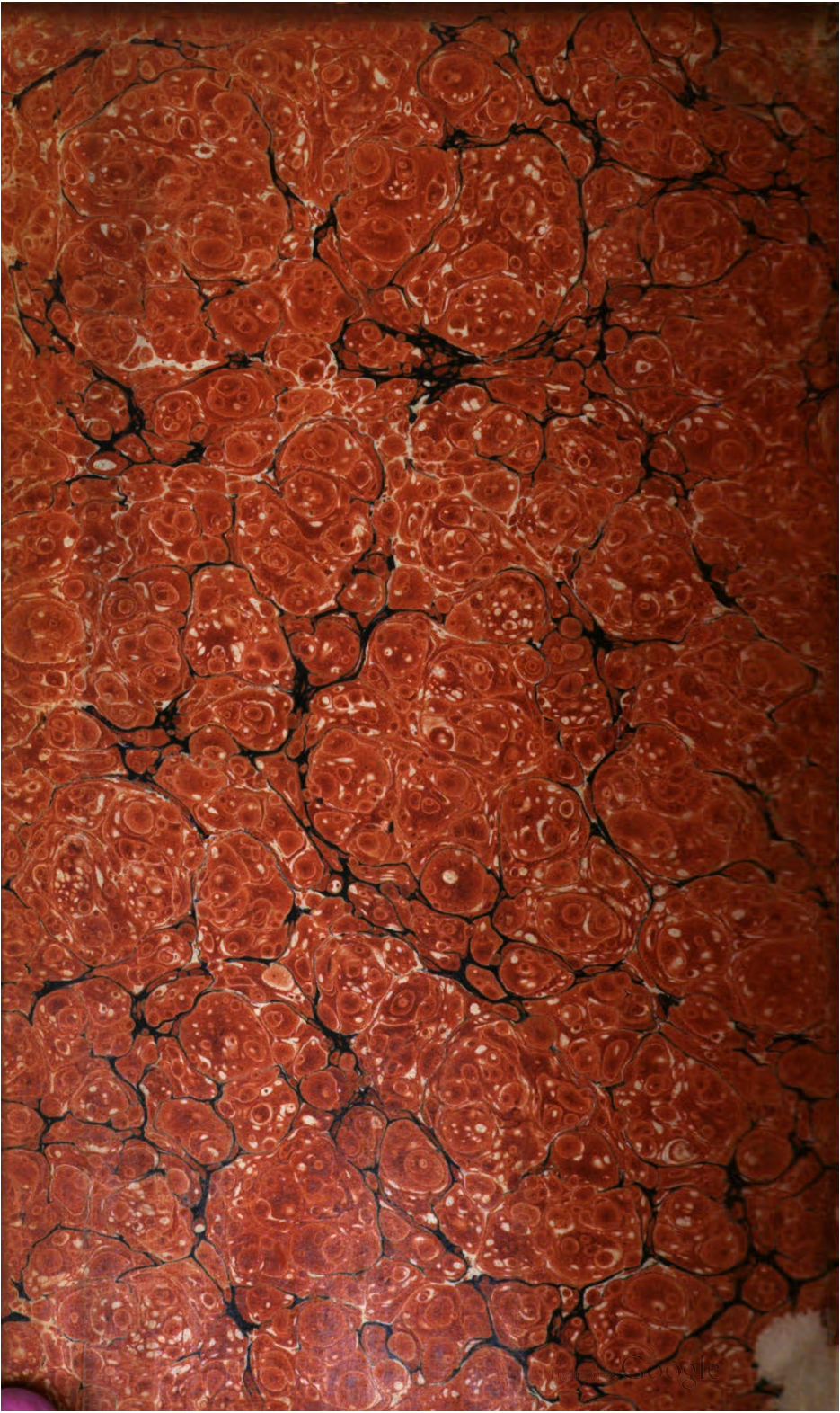

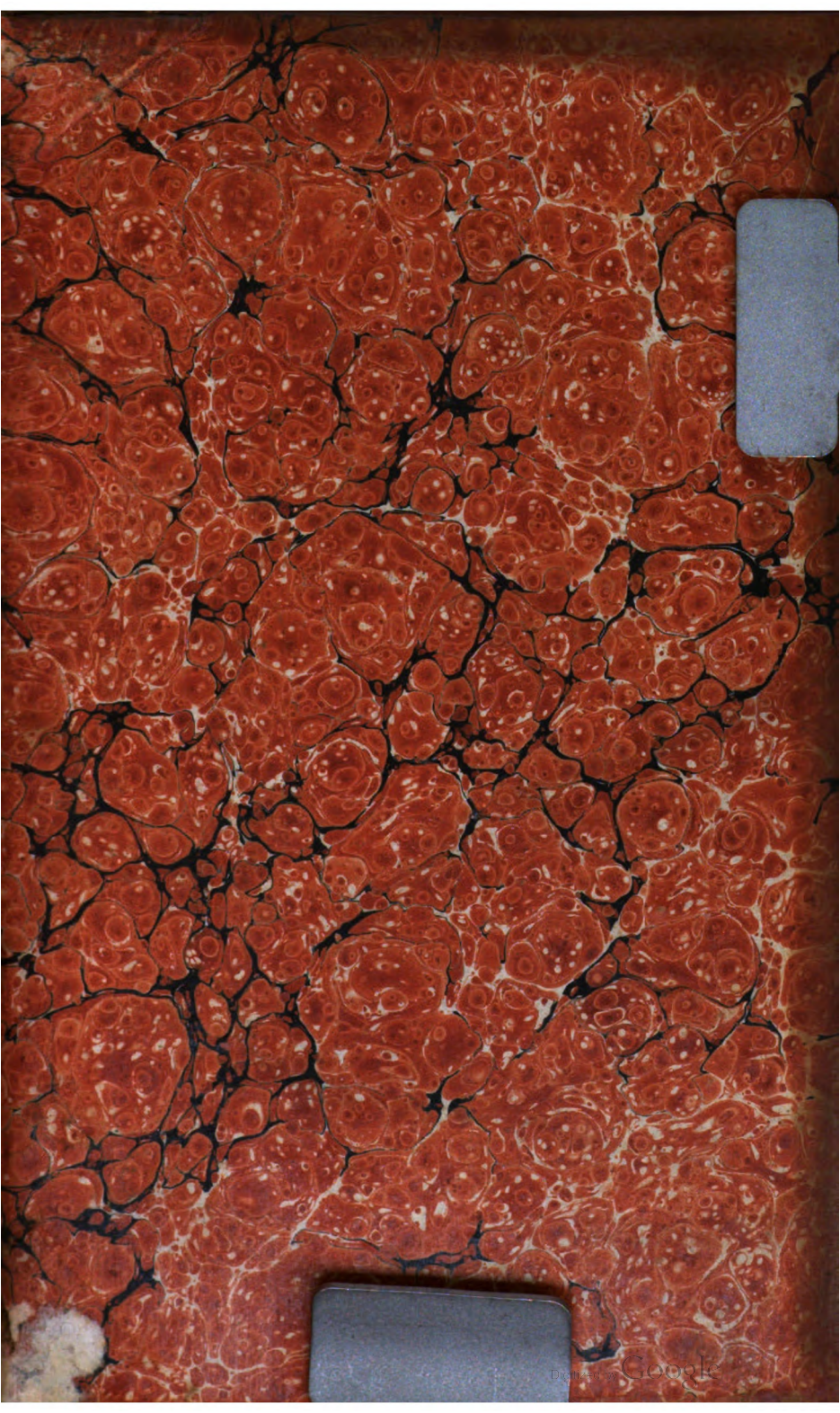
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